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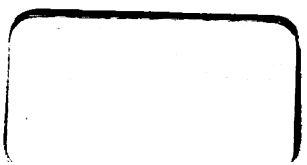
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Lives of the cardinals



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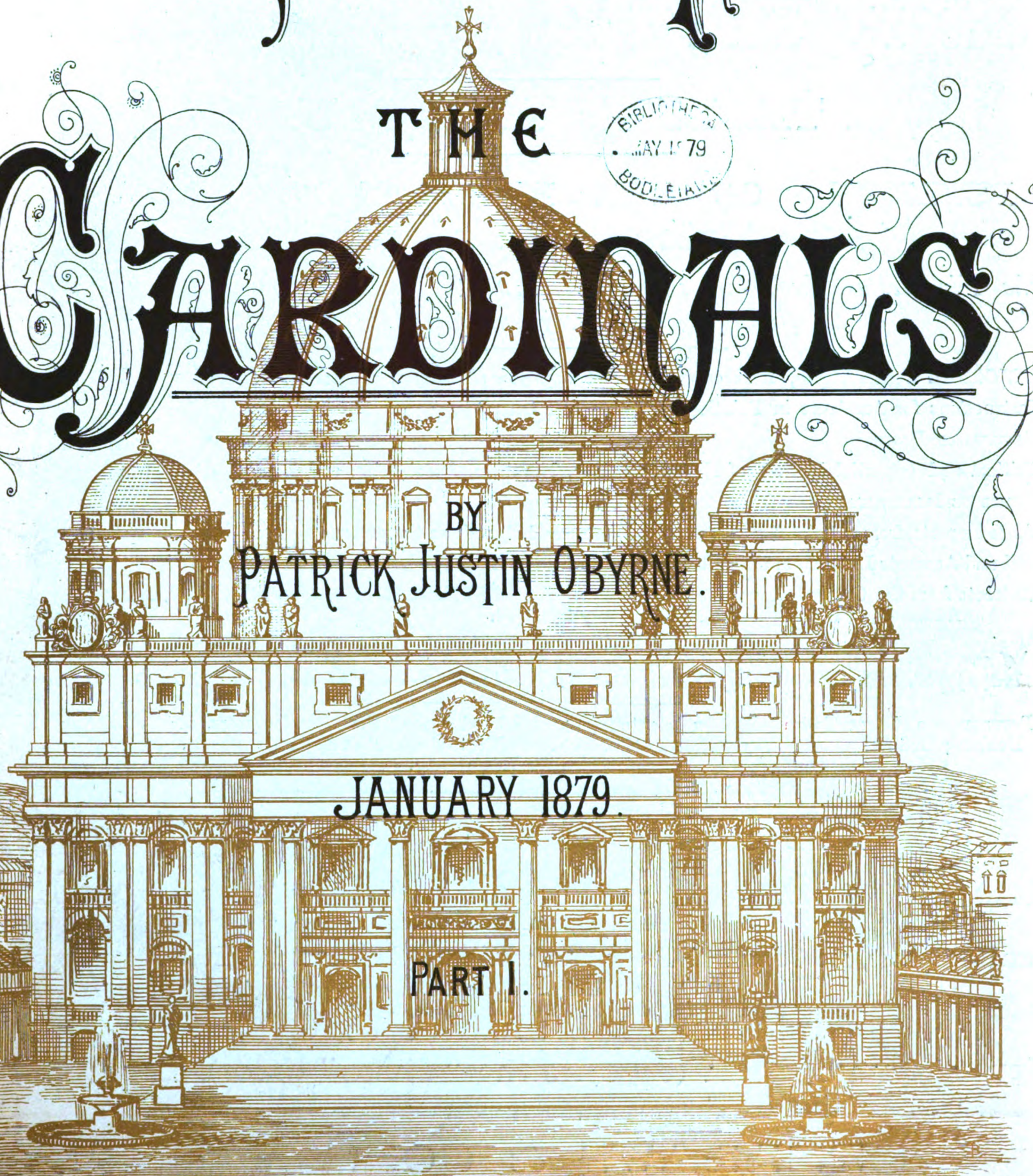
THE
CARDINALS

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PATRICK JUSTIN OBYRNE.

JANUARY 1879

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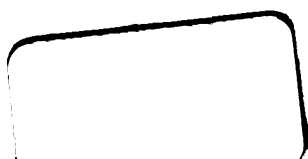
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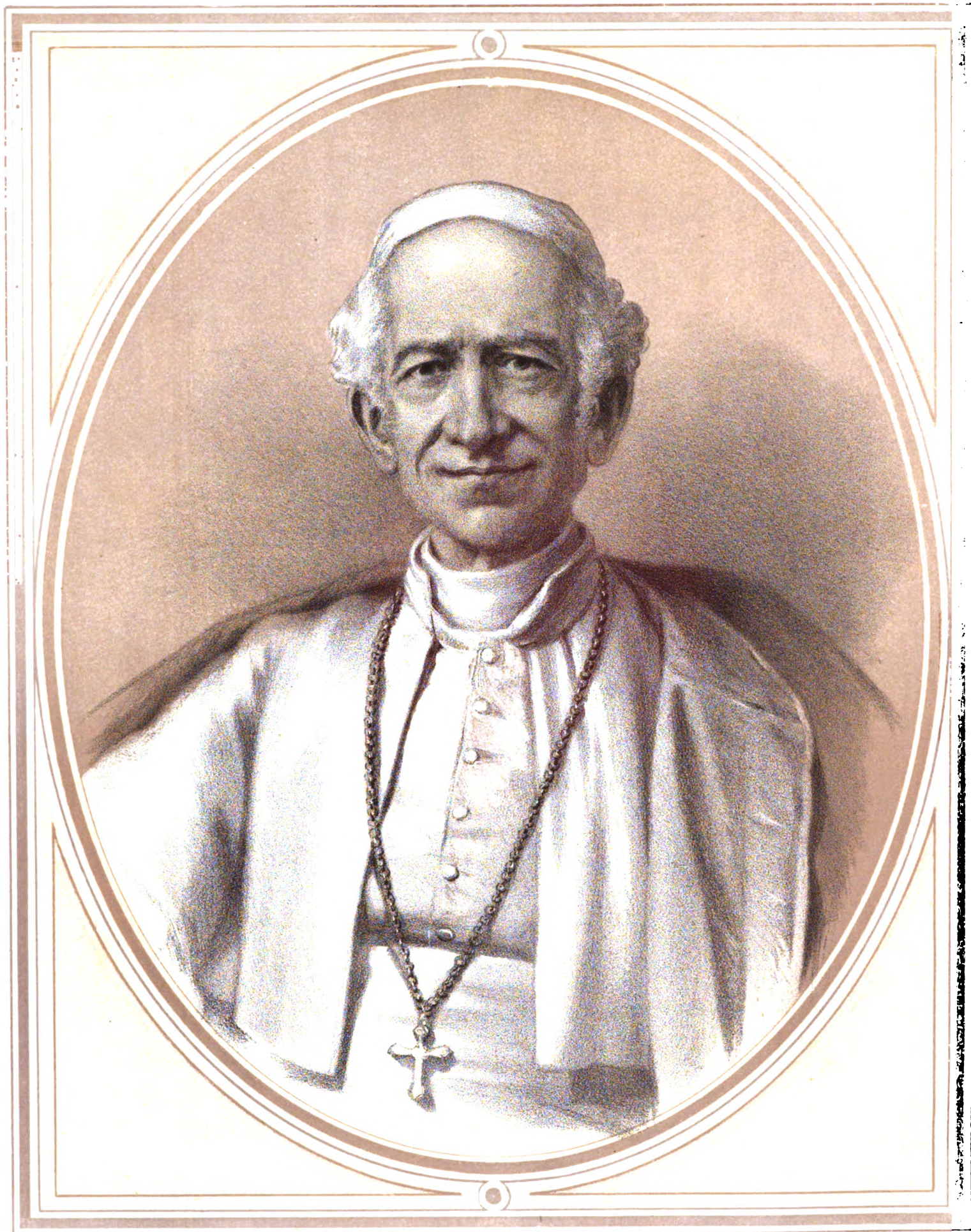
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LIVES OF THE CARDINALS.





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Leo P. P. XIII

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LIVES OF THE CARDINALS.

CARDINAL PECCI (POPE LEO XIII).

In Carpineto, a straggling town in the midst of the hills, the country of Coriolanus, whence the Volscians of old made war against imperious Rome, stood, in the beginning of this century, an old Chateau, where had dwelt the lords of the neighbourhood for many generations. There was joy in the old house, when, on the 2nd of March, 1810, the Countess Anna gave birth to a boy, and Count Ludovico Pecci became the father of the most distinguished child of his race. The old house is still the home of the Peccis—and it has no prouder tradition than the birth of the child who was baptised as Vincenzo Gioacchino.

The Fathers of the Society of Jesus had the first charge of developing the intellect of the clever youth, Vincenzo Gioacchino Pecci. He was only eight years of age when he left the family mansion at Carpineto, and, in the year 1818, was placed by his father in the Jesuit College at Viterbo. The Peccis were attached to the institution, for many of the members of the noble Carpineto family had there received their moral and intellectual training from the disciples of St. Ignatius Loyola. It is singular that a future Pope should have had a Garibaldi for one of his teachers, for his tutor at Viterbo was the learned Father Leonardo Garibaldi, renowned in the Society for his solid learning, but more celebrated for his success as a teacher. Father Garibaldi had a singularly persuasive manner, and a gentle spirit, which led him to take a cheerful view of life, and a charitable one of the failings of his fellow mortals. To his teaching, it is said, at, perhaps, the period most critical in the formation of a boy's character, are due the gentleness of manner and fascinating sweetness of disposition, which serve only to temper the decisive will and penetrating intellectual power of the new Pontiff. He was already more than a ripe scholar for his age, when, in 1824, his mother died, and the necessary re-arrangement of the family brought about a change in the scholastic destiny of Vincenzo. He was sent to Rome, whence he was one day to rule the Christian world. Another Leo was then the occupant of the See of Peter. He, too, was a successor of another Pius, who had suffered persecution, exile, and tribulation in the cause of the Divine Founder of the Church of God on earth. The Church had only just recovered from trials hardly equalled by any of the persecutions of those latter days. One Pope had died in exile; the predecessor of the twelfth Leo was elected in exile, and after nine years of his Pontificate, was formally deprived of his Temporal authority, because he would not prostitute his Spiritual power for the purposes of Napoleon I. For five years he remained at Fontainebleau, a prisoner, till the Empire Napoleon had built had fallen, and the Imperial captor of two Popes was himself a prisoner.

When Vincenzo Pecci came into the world, the Sovereign to whom the family was devoted was still a prisoner in France. Rome, the spiritual and intellectual mistress of the universe, was in mourning. The Vatican was deserted—the Pontifical voice of benediction was no longer heard in St. Peter's—the Palaces of the Roman Princes were desolate—the Halls of the learned were empty. During the fourteen years of his boyhood, the transformation of Rome, and the triumph of the Papacy over its tribulations had come to pass. After his return to Rome, the Papal prisoner had lived to see the dismal end of his captor; and his successor was able to enter on the Pontificate in all the restored glory and independence of his great office. When the boy Vincenzo Pecci entered Rome for the first time, he came to a city no longer desolate in its grandeur, but to the rehabilitated capital, the living, beating heart of the Christian body all over the world, the active, energetic centre of the higher human thought. Just as in the prefigurations of the prophets there were omens of the regeneration of mankind, there may have been in this entry of the student Vincenzo Pecci into Rome, a prefiguration of the regeneration of the Church, and its restoration to independence.

The Palaces of Rome were open to young Pecci. He was under the guardianship of his uncle, and resided at the Palace of the Marchesi Muti. So far as his studies permitted him, he enjoyed all the attractions

of the Roman Court, and took his share in the re-unions of the Roman nobility. He had the opportunity of meeting the most distinguished men of learning and of politics, from all the ends of the civilized earth—for, after the restoration of its possessions to the Papacy, Rome naturally became the shrine of Religion, Learning, and Art. One of the signs of the Intellectual Restoration was the presence again in Rome of the learned men of the Society of Jesus. After forty-one years of banishment, at the instigation of temporal rulers, who feared their learning, and the influence which it gave them over the intelligence of the higher classes of society—the Jesuit Fathers were restored by the restored Pope, Pius VII., on his return to the Vatican in 1814.

Leo the Twelfth became Pope in 1823, only a year before Vincenzo Pecci's visit to Rome, and he signalized his ascent to the most dignified throne on earth, by restoring the Roman College of the Society. It was to this College and to the charge of the Jesuit Fathers that the future Pope was committed for the completion of his early education. Here two of his first tutors were eminent men—the Fathers Marini and Bonivicini. It was the plan of his father that Vincenzo should receive a thorough education, not only in the severer sciences, but in all the studies of a lighter sort, which were sought after as accomplishments in society by the younger Roman nobility. A nephew of Pope Leo XII., Father Pianciani, was Pecci's scientific master, and in mathematics he had the advantage of lessons from the celebrated mathematician, Andrea Carafa, also a Jesuit Father. Vincenzo was an ardent student of Philosophy, and distinguished himself early in his scholastic career, in the disputations of the Roman College. Much of the time devoted by the other students to necessary recreation, was spent by Pecci in the laboratory, for he was an enthusiastic chemist, fond of novel experiments. When only eighteen years of age he carried away the first prize of the college in Chemistry, and this over a host of not undistinguished competitors, the pupils of renowned masters. In mathematics he was hardly less successful, having obtained the first *Accessit*. The prize list of the College, for the year 1828, bears this testimony to the intellectual capacity of the future Pope, then only eighteen years of age.

Nothing definite as to his future career seems up to this period to have been contemplated by the Pecci family, and probably nothing was contemplated beyond preparation for the career which then lay before the young nobles of the Pontifical States. To them, the highest ambition of life was to serve the supreme ruler of the Church in the administration of his temporal power, in the government of the people inhabiting the Sanctuary of Catholicism. In a lay career Pecci might have acquired reputation as a man of learning or as a Papal minister; he had all the surroundings likely to secure a fair prospect of advancement had he chosen to serve the Holy See as a layman, but he had a natural ability and an acquired education, which would have singled him out for high office without the advantages of birth and patronage. His subsequent career in the execution of the functions of lay government in the States of the Church demonstrated that even as a young man he was made of the material from which the rulers of men are shaped. Whatever may have been the family designs, Vincenzo Gioacchino Pecci selected a career for himself. In the lifetime of his mother, a woman of almost saintly character, he was noted for his unobtrusive devotion. At Viterbo, and in the Roman College, he was numbered amongst the most exemplary of the students, and was as frequently to be found in the oratory as in the study. Even in the society of Rome he acquired a character for staidness hardly consistent with his years. His teachers were men of austere piety, who made science the handmaiden of religious enthusiasm, and devoted themselves to literature in order that the highest mental gifts of their pupils might be given to the service of pure Christian faith. Under such influences there was nothing unnatural in the choice of a career made by Pecci.

In his eighteenth year he resolved to enter the Church and, his course of philosophy finished with *eclat*, he undertook the study of the subtle science of Theology. He was again fortunate in obtaining the tuition of the ablest theologians of the learned Society of Jesus. One of his masters Father Patrizi, lived, to honour his former pupil in the person of the Supreme Pontiff, Leo the Thirteenth. For so young a theologian a remarkable honour was conferred on the brilliant student. Though he had hardly attained his twentieth year, he was appointed theological reader to the students of the German College at Rome. He justified the choice by the honors he won in 1830—the third year of his theological course, and the twentieth year of his age. Having sustained a public dispute in theology, a collegiate custom in Rome, the records of his college chronicle in terms of high praise the success of "Vincentius Pecci." At twenty-one years of age

Pecci had finished his theological studies and had won for himself the degree of Doctor of Theology—a degree only obtainable by the severest examination. His early scholastic success was not, strange to say, the cause of much wonder among his companions or his teachers. Much was expected of him, and he surely justified the expectation founded on his super-abundance of natural talent. Mountaineer as he was by birth, well-formed, of athletic stature, delighting in physical exercise, it is yet recorded of him by one of his distinguished contemporaries that in his studies he knew not “companions, conversations, games, nor diversions. His desk was his world, the depths of science his paradise.” Vincenzo Gioacchino Pecci was, in fact, thorough in everything he undertook.

Although, when he had reached his majority his theological education was complete, he had yet to wait some years before entering into holy orders. Other studies were still to be undergone, for it is not the custom of Roman Ecclesiastics to confine their education to the mere requirements of their sacred offices. Pecci entered as a student into the Academy of Noble Ecclesiastics; he attended the Roman University Lectures on Canon and Civil Law, and was so conscientious a student, that he obtained the degree of Doctor in both branches of study. While attending the University lectures he became the companion of another distinguished Churchman—the Duke Riario Sisto Sforza, afterwards Cardinal Archbishop of Naples. The young duke was of the same age as Pecci, but not at all his equal in intellectual power. There was this similarity, however, between them; they were both unostentatiously pious, exemplary in their conduct, and enthusiastic in their devotion to the sacred calling for which they were preparing, and both were remarkable for an unswerving firmness of purpose. In their after careers, great as was the intellectual disparity between them, both followed an identical course of policy in recognising and insisting on the vast importance of the highest scientific and literary culture in the service of religion. Institutions having for their object the cultivation of the highest intellectual gifts in the servants of the Church were founded by both. While pursuing his studies in Canon Law, Pecci made the acquaintance of Cardinal Antonio Sala, who possessed great influence at the Court of Gregory the Sixteenth. He also numbered on his list of friends a much more remarkable man—the Cardinal Prince Carlo Odelscalchi, from whom he received minor orders. Through the influence of Cardinal Sala, (who represented his great ability to the Holy Father, while Pecci was yet in minor orders,) Gregory the Sixteenth appointed him Domestic Prelate and Referendary of the Segnature. Monsignor Pecci was then in his twenty-seventh year. He entered the pontifical household on the 16th of March, 1837, and on the 23rd of December, of the same year, he was ordained Priest by his friend the Cardinal Prince Odelscalchi. Cardinal Odelscalchi, singularly enough, renounced the purple to join the Society of Jesus, in which his *protégé* had been educated for the high career on which he entered on the day of his ordination.

Gregory the Sixteenth, who was a keen student of character, soon perceived the stuff of which Monsignor Pecci was made. He was sadly in lack of able civil administrators, for the condition of the Papal States was anything but reassuring; several of the provinces were in disorder of the worst kind, which, however, could not be said to arise from any mal-administration of the Papal Government. The States of the Church were overrun by Neapolitan outlaws, who, in several of the provinces, had organized a system of brigandage with such art and audacity as made civil life almost unbearable. Lawlessness ruled, and ruled with the connivance of provincial nobles, who were openly in league with the brigands. Neither life nor property were safe, and sacrilege was no uncommon crime. The outlaws, who overran the country, found little difficulty in corrupting a portion of the population—for during the interregnum caused by the captivity of two Popes, the civil administration of the states fell into utter disorganization. Pius the Seventh, on his restoration, and Leo the Twelfth, during his pontificate, had not been able to restore order in the provinces. They had to re-organize Rome itself, and to set in order the affairs of the Holy See, and the government of the Church, placed in almost inextricable confusion by Napoleon I. When Gregory the Sixteenth came to the pontifical throne, he found the affairs of the Church in order, and the good government of the Eternal City completely restored. He had, therefore, time to think of the suppression of lawlessness and the establishment of good government in the provinces, and to this end, from the commencement of his pontificate, Gregory directed his thoughts. The difficulty was, however, to find capable administrators for such an arduous task. The cultivation of qualities requisite for the work, at all times extremely rare, seemed to be conspicuous by its almost entire absence from the Court of Pope Gregory.

It was not that there were not able men at the Roman Court. There were many, but there were few who possessed the particular kind of ability which the condition of the Papal States demanded. Men of eminence there were in the Sacred College, but they were old, or their eminence was of the scholastic kind merely. Considering that for two successive pontificates the great diplomatic training schools of the Roman Court—that is to say the departments of State and Church government—had been virtually closed, Gregory was compelled to look for the rulers of his temporal dominions, as well as for the leaders in the Church, among the younger ecclesiastics who surrounded him. Of these, Vincenzo Gioacchino Pecci was amongst the most prominent for ability and acquired learning. But he had a still further claim to the favor of the Sovereign Pontiff. At a time when the Italian nobility and the upper classes of Italian society were socially disintegrated as the result of a series of wars and revolutions, and as a consequence had suffered that inevitable moral deterioration which the absence of social public opinion naturally entails, Pecci was personally unsullied in character. His life, amidst all the temptations with which association with the higher orders surrounded him, was more than exemplary. Then, too, he came of a blameless race; for, confining themselves to the family residence at Carpineto, and only occasionally visiting the eternal City, the Peccis were content with the dignified simplicity found in the unostentatious life of the true country gentleman. They held aloof from political cabals and were unknown in the political intrigues of the country. Monsignor Pecci was, therefore, unbiased by any ties of partizanship on his entry into the pontifical service.

The province of Benevento was, perhaps, the most lawless portion of the Papal States. From the orderly inhabitants petitions and protests were showered on the Holy Father, praying for protection against the brigands, and denouncing the corruption of the petty nobles who were rightly believed to be in league with them. In the case of Benevento, there were two voices speaking to Gregory the Sixteenth—the voice of the suffering population and the voice of the mercenary nobles, for they had some influence. They assumed the virtue of long suffering, which they had not, and as several eminent ecclesiastics and even some members of the Sacred College hailed from Benevento, the aristocracy of the province, through them, petitioned the Pontiff against the people, and in answer to the popular charges of oppression, pleaded popular disaffection and political conspiracy. The people declared that bandits and nobles alike preyed on them and oppressed them; the nobles asseverated that the people were disaffected, depraved, lazy, and that they neglected the ordinary avocations of industry for the secret social and political organizations. The ecclesiastics and cardinals from Benevento had no means of enquiry into the statements which came to them from their former friends, and had, at all events, the excuse of *esprit de corps* for believing in the truthfulness of the order from which they came. But, whichever side was right—or whichever side was wrong—there could be no doubt about the one prominent fact that the province of Benevento, and some others of the Papal provinces as well, were sadly in need of strong and equitable government.

In the person of the young Chamberlain, Gregory the Sixteenth found a way out of the difficulty in which he was placed. He selected him, at the age of twenty-seven years, as Apostolic Delegate—or, as we would call it, Lieutenant Governor—of Benevento. It is said that when Gregory the Sixteenth first proposed to send Monsignor Pecci to Benevento, the latter begged to be relieved of the dangers his mission imposed on him. It would take him from his beloved books, from the tranquil life of intellectual labours and pious practice which he had marked out for himself. It was characteristic of him, on being assured that the selection had fallen upon him, notwithstanding his early years, because a man of energy and firm will was requisite, that he at once accepted the post assigned him. His very first steps showed a thorough appreciation of the situation. He demanded the aid of a competent chief of police administration, and took with him to Benevento Signor Sterbini, a man whose name soon became a terror to the evil doers in the Papal provinces. He went through the provinces, visited the towns and the villages, consulted the people themselves in their own homes on their own condition; and of course visited the nobles of the province. He found that the relations between the tillers of the soil and the landowners were of the purely feudal character, and that as a rule, the lords of the land were not at all sparing nor scrupulous, in the exercise of their feudal power. The people, what between brigands and landlords, were almost afraid to call their souls their own. The lords of the soil had been accustomed for generations to rule the peasantry without any restriction or any conception of a higher authority.

The appearance of the Apostolic Delegate in their midst was regarded by them as an undue interference with their jurisdiction. They received him with Italian courtesy, as the representative of their Sovereign, but they received him coldly. Those of them who held any official governmental post, were at once called upon by Monsignor Pecci for an account of their stewardship in their various offices. For the time being he was autocrat of Benevento, and his first steps indicated to all the officials whom it concerned that he meant to be obeyed. The feudal lords could not in any approved fashion, because they dared not, openly resist his authority—for the military and police forces of the province were under the direct command of the Apostolic Delegate. They tried to save themselves by intrigue. To the members of the Sacred College and the ecclesiastics of the Court who came from, or ever had had any official connection with Benevento, complaints were sent against the conduct of the Delegate. He was undermining the legitimate authority of the lords of the soil; he was openly siding with the peasantry; he was inciting them to disrespect and disaffection towards their superiors; he slighted the aristocracy, and, indeed, snubbed them; he would not listen to the advice of the friends of good government who had a stake in the country; and in short, he was interfering with the influence of property and position on the masses of the people. He was, in other words, a revolutionary ruler; and if he were permitted to remain in the province, Benevento would be for ever lost to the patrimony of Peter. All this, and much more of the same sort of thing, was poured into the ears of the Cardinals and the Court Ecclesiastics, and was very properly submitted to Gregory the Sixteenth by his advisers. But Pope Gregory fancied that he knew better than any body else the measure of the man he had selected to represent his temporal authority; and the violent opposition to the proceedings of the Delegate had confirmed his opinion that Monsignor Pecci was a real missionary of law and order. He refused to interfere with the Apostolic Delegate in any way whatever.

Baffled in intrigue, some of the evil-doers tried the effect of open resistance to the authority of the Delegate. His first step was, with the assistance of Sterbini, to place an effective police cordon along the Sicilian frontier, so as to prevent the entrance from, and exit to, the Neapolitan States of the bandits who infested Benevento. But this could not be effectively done without the assistance of the Neapolitan Government, which he obtained by a direct and personal appeal to the King of the Two Sicilies, to whom he confided his ameliorative designs. He made his own arrangements with the military and police officers, personally impressed on them the necessity of energy, fearlessness, and vigilance; and secured their enthusiastic aid, not less by his suavity of manner than by his stern threats of punishment for remissness, and promises of reward for faithful performance of duty. Having secured the frontier, and thus enclosed the disturbers of the peace within an almost invulnerable military line, he commenced an armed pursuit in the interior. The peasantry had been so much in the power of the marauders that, passionately as they longed for deliverance, they were still in mortal fear of their armed enemies, who threatened torture and death for any revelation of their whereabouts. Promises of protection, and of stern punishment for any connivance with, or harbouring of the outlaws, secured the fealty of the people; and by a series of military surprises, most of the rank and file of the brigands were captured, and safely imprisoned. But most of the leaders remained at large. They sought safety in the mansions of their protectors,—and for months defied all the energy, resolve, and vigilance of the Papal Delegate. There was nothing for it but open war against the titled protectors of the brigand chiefs; and upon this Monsignor Pecci resolved at once. He gave public notice of his intention, and plainly declared that he would, if necessary, attack the lords of the land in their own citadels. He kept his word. One by one the castles were attacked, the brigands captured or killed, and their protectors punished. Called upon by their landlords to aid them against the forces of the Delegate, the people, the threats of their landlords notwithstanding, maintained their fealty to their Sovereign, and refused their aid. Representations were again made to Rome. The lords of the soil—or those of them who were in league with the outlawed bands—sent further complaints to Rome, this time complaining, that instead of restoring order, the Delegate openly violated their domiciles, and ravaged their lands. It was all to no purpose, however; Gregory the Sixteenth praised, instead of condemning, his representative, and refused to interfere with his discretion in the pursuit of his mission. It is recorded that, driven to the last extreme of audacity, a certain Marquis—openly suspected of harbouring brigands—actually called upon Monsignor Pecci, and, with threatening words,

informed him that he was going to Rome, in order to obtain the Delegate's expulsion from Benevento. Monsignor Pecci heard him politely, and merely answered, "Very well, Marquis; but before you go to Rome, you will spend three months in prison, where I will give you only black bread to eat, and cold water to drink." From Monsignor Pecci's room the Marquis went to prison, and while he was enjoying existence on black bread and water, his chateau was attacked by the Papal troops, his friends the brigands captured and brought to justice, and one of them killed in the fray. There are old men still living in the province, who tell the story of the Marquis and the Delegate, and a dozen similar ones, with intense relish.

After this taste of the Delegate's quality, the brigands and their protectors came to the conclusion that their warfare against law and authority was hopeless. As the Delegate was not to be trifled with, they gave up the conflict—those that hoped for promised mercy, surrendered; and those who did not, found no hiding places, and were captured. The people offered ovations to the Papal Delegate, wherever he went. Pope Gregory publicly expressed his thanks for his services, and the King of Naples invited him to his court to receive from his own hands some recognition of the wonders he had worked. Order restored, Monsignor Pecci's next care was its permanent preservation. He re-established an energetic civil magistracy, re-opened the courts of law, and by dint of persistent work and arduous organization, restored civil life to the hitherto disordered province. Law and legitimate authority took the place of violence and lawlessness.

Such a thorough cleansing of the Augean Stable would, to most statesmen, have been the gradual work of years; to Monsignor Pecci it was a work of months merely. But it had strained all his powers, mental and physical, and he was doomed to suffer for his devotion to duty. He was seized with a serious illness, and for a time lay apparently at death's door. The news of his illness brought a sense of almost personal affliction to every peasant home in Benevento; in every village and hamlet, in every church, constant prayers were offered up for his recovery. The people accused themselves of being unworthy such a just ruler, and believed that for their unworthiness he was about to be taken from them; in Benevento they did penance by walking the streets in bare-footed procession, headed by their clergy, praying for the recovery of their deliverer. Their prayers were answered, for, after enforced rest, Monsignor Pecci recovered his health, and his restoration was celebrated throughout the province by jubilant thanksgiving. The prayer of the people was granted in this respect, but what they most desired was not to be given to them. Monsignor Pecci was not to remain with the people whose veneration he had earned by his charity and his justice.

There were other disturbed provinces in the dominions of the Pope which required an energetic ruler. Monsignor Pecci was indicated by his work in Benevento as the delegate of order in the other lawless districts. To him, accordingly, Gregory the Sixteenth confided the task of restoring the rule of law in Spoleto and afterwards in Perugia. The fame of his doings in Benevento had reached Spoleto, and the very announcement that he was coming as Apostolic Delegate to restore order had a tranquillising effect. The lawless fled before him, and, compared to the arduous task undertaken in Benevento, his duty in Spoleto became remarkably easy. However, he systematised the administration of the law, completed the police organization, restored legal authority, and cleared away the administrative abuses of which the people complained. The law breakers were by him brought to justice, and confidence was restored to the people. In all his administrative functions the first care of Monsignor Pecci was the protection of the poor; he gave lavishly of his own means to them, and he took care that poverty should not become the victim of power. In the Papal States, as elsewhere, when the ordinary operation of law was suspended by external interference or internal convulsion, the tendency of the powerful was to oppress the weak, the rich took advantage of, instead of bestowing commiseration on the poor, and in the indulgence of selfish authority, Christian charity was cast to the winds. As a priest, it was the duty of the Delegate to administer consolation and sympathy to the poor and the afflicted, to denounce wrong and restrain its indulgence. As a Civil Delegate of the Sovereign Pontiff, it was his mission to restore the dominion of law, enforce upon the subjects of Pope Gregory the faithful observance of the duties of citizenship, to restore the impartial administration of justice, to protect the unprotected against the powerful, and guard the interests of the poor and the weak against the interference of the wealthy and the strong, as well as to ensure to life and property safety from outrage. Throughout his administrative career in the Pontifical Provinces this double mission of his as priest and

pro-consul seems never to have been absent from the mind of the Apostolic Delegate, and so it happened that, wherever he went during these first years of active employment, the blessings of the poor followed him, and even those who before had an interest in the existence of disorder, were won by him, without effort, over to the side of authority. One reason—and perhaps the leading one—which accounts for the rapid success of his administration, is to be found in the fact that Monsignor Pecci examined and inquired into everything personally; he did nothing by proxy. If the poor complained, he visited them; if officials were complained against, he questioned the complainant and the accused personally, and formed his opinion on the evidence taken by himself. He was dispassionate, unprejudiced, had no interest to serve except those of the mission confided to him. To him, all men with whom he came in contact in the administration of his office were simply the subjects of Gregory the Sixteenth, any one of whom was as much entitled to civil right and civil protection as any other.

From Spoleto he was sent to Perugia, over which he was destined to rule as spiritual pastor the greater portion of his sacerdotal life. The Province of Perugia ought to have been one of the most contented and prosperous in the Papal dominions; but the same disturbing influences as had called into requisition the capacity of the Papal Delegate in Benevento and Spoleto, contributed to interfere with the progress and good government of the populous province. The people of Perugia learned to love their kindly but just governor, and when, his mission being achieved, the time came for his removal, Pope Gregory was petitioned to permit Monsignor Pecci to remain. But the Pontiff had higher distinctions in store for his able Delegate, and recalled him in order to bestow his reward. No one was more surprised than Gioacchino Pecci himself when, on his return to Rome, he found himself raised to the episcopal dignity. In the Consistory, held on the 27th of January, 1843, Monsignor Pecci was designated by his Holiness as Archbishop of Damietta, *in Partibus Infidelium*, and his elevation became the one topic of Roman Society, for the new Archbishop was young—he was not yet thirty-three years of age. To be sure, it was not intended by the Pontiff that he should enter on the government of any diocese, or have the charge of souls; Gregory the Sixteenth only wanted a representative at the Belgian Court, and wanted one who, by his birth, courtly presence, as well as by diplomatic skill, would lend dignity to the office. His choice fell on Pecci, and hence the early Archbishopric.

Belgium was in the singular position of being inhabited by an intensely Catholic people under a Protestant king, and being then comparatively young among the European States, stood in need of a more extended church organization. Cardinal Lambruschini consecrated the new Archbishop on the 19th of February, 1843, in the Church of San Lorenzo, in Panisperna. Among the crowded and fashionable congregation present to witness the ceremony, there was probably one also destined to a high career in the Church, and chosen as well to become the bosom friend and confidant of the future Pope. Though it is not recorded that Allesandro Franchi was among those present, he was then the *protégé* of Cardinal Lambruschini, was employed in the department dealing with the affairs of the Church abroad, and was in the habit of attending the great Cardinal Secretary in the performance of public functions. At all events, in the years immediately following, Archbishop Pecci and the young ecclesiastic, Franchi, were brought into contact by the duties of their respective offices, and learned to esteem and to love one another with a friendship which lasted during years of adventure and of trial for both. There was an elective kinship in their characters and their aspirations which bound them together in spirit.

In the Court of Brussels, Archbishop Pecci soon became a general favourite, and obtained the close friendship of the King, Leopold I. Leopold was one of the keenest judges of character in his time, and his reputation for thoughtful statesmanship was European. In the solution of difficult problems in statesmanship, and in the management of political parties, he was frequently consulted by the other monarchs of Europe—by the Queen of England more frequently than by any other. That such a man found in Archbishop Pecci the qualities of a counsellor and a friend is perhaps one of the highest testimonies in favor of the observant tact of Pope Gregory in selecting a Nuncio. Popular in the Court, the Nuncio was also beloved by the people of Brussels. An enthusiastic Churchman from the day he determined on studying for holy orders, his greatest enjoyment was in the performance of religious functions. He made himself thoroughly acquainted with the religious life of Belgium. He became the generous patron of educational establishments, visited the

religious houses, and studied the charitable institutions. But, as all through life, his mind was chiefly interested in education. As Priest, Bishop, Cardinal, and Pope, he has always held the theory that the Catholic mind should aspire after the highest intellectual culture, and that the higher the intellect, properly trained, the greater is the appreciation of the necessity of Faith. There was not a seminary of any repute in Belgium which did not know the presence of the Nuncio at some time or other during his Nunciature. He was a generous benefactor of the educational and charitable institutions, giving most largely to those whose object was the relief of the physically afflicted and the deserving poor. Most of the large towns and centres of the industrial population were visited by him, and he personally studied the condition of the poor. His particular attention was directed to the means employed for the maintenance of religious life in crowded industrial communities in which men are most liable to be led into Indifferentism. To the perfection of organization in this direction is due the curious contrast that, while in the great towns of Catholic France a large proportion of the working classes are either indifferent believers or Proletarians, in Catholic Belgium, with a much more latitudinarian political liberty than in France, the men of the working classes are remarkable for their religious fervour. That in these latter days such a contrast exists, is in part at least, due to the devotion of the Apostolic Nuncio in Belgium to Catholic culture, at a time when religious latitudinarianism was becoming the fashionable creed of the educated and of the political propagandists on the Continent. To the poor the Nuncio became as well known as to the courtiers of Brussels, and by both he was loved and respected. The Clergy were devoted to him, the Belgian Hierarchy honoured him. Whenever a great popular religious ceremony was to be performed, as at the magnificent fête of all the Clergy, the religious societies, and congregations of Brussels on the occasion of the centenary of "Notre Dame de la Chapelle," on the 2nd of June, 1844, the Nuncio was called upon to occupy the principal part.

Coming from the sunny south, the variable weather of Brussels, as well as the toil and study which he voluntarily imposed upon himself, began to tell upon his constitution. He had not allowed himself time to rest from the fatigues of Benevento and Perugia, and his active mind, ever eager for new experiences, allowed itself no rest in the comparatively easy office of Nuncio. He might have remained at his Nunciature, and contented himself with his Court duties and pleasures. He preferred the active participation in the Catholic life of the people to the elegant idleness of the Court. His old prostration returned, and, very much against the grain, he was compelled, after three years' sojourn in Belgium, to obtain a period of rest. His friend, King Leopold, was grieved at his determination, and used all his influence to induce him to remain. But duty, affection, and the authority of the Sovereign Pontiff, had also calls on the attention of the prelate. When, at the end of the year 1845, the See of Perugia became vacant, the clergy and the people took a novel means of obtaining a bishop after their own hearts. They sent a deputation to Pope Gregory, praying him to send them Archbishop Pecci, the former delegate, as their ecclesiastical ruler. Gregory conveyed the request to his Nuncio, who, touched with the exhibition of love from the people he had governed, accepted the charge, and on the 12th of January, 1846, Monsignor Pecci was preconised in Consistory as Bishop of Perugia. Leopold exercised a privilege accorded to the rulers of Catholic countries, in favor of the Nuncio whom he was so sorry to lose. As a token of his esteem and affection, he conferred on him the Grand Cordon of Leopold, and asked him to convey to the Sovereign Pontiff a closed letter. That letter contained a request from the King to the Pontiff that he would confer on Archbishop Pecci the dignity of Cardinal. In an interview which he had with the Pope on his return to Rome, Gregory confided to him the contents of the letter. "The King," said he, "praises your character, your virtues, and your services; and he asks for you an honour, which I grant with all my heart—the purple." It was believed that, thus nominated a Cardinal *in petto*, Archbishop Pecci would have been publicly created and published as Cardinal at the next Consistory. Meanwhile, he set forth to take charge of his diocese—the first cure of souls to which he had been appointed, and which he was to hold for more than thirty-two years. In affectionate remembrance of his mother, the Countess Anne, he selected the 2nd of July, 1846—the Feast of St. Anne—for his public entry into Perugia. The day was held as a festival throughout the province. The clergy and the people came out from the city of Perugia to welcome him with exuberant manifestations of joy. His return meant the perpetuation of peace and good government for them.

The change from the elegant ease of a Nuncio's life to the active duties of a Bishop's still found Monsignor Pecci true to his sense of responsibility. That active mind of his still sought out new work in his new sphere. The duties of an active episcopate were altogether new to him. Hitherto he had been but an honorary Archbishop. It had never been his duty to rule a parish as priest—to seek out sinners—to sit for weary hours in the confessional, listening to the disheartening story of human infirmity, and administering hope and mercy to the despairing: it had never been his duty, though it had often been his voluntary task, to visit the sick—to comfort the poor—to penetrate into the crowded dens, where crime and pauperism find homes—to train the young—to counsel the more mature—and to daily administer the sacraments of the Church designed to sanctify every stage of human life, and every condition of human existence. The practical study of the kaleidoscopic varieties of human character, and of the private motives of human action necessarily afforded to the missionary priest, had been denied him. Monsignor Pecci had, in short, never gone through the ordinary probation for the episcopate, nor had he ascended, step by step, in active ecclesiastical life, by the processes which have in all countries secured for the Catholic Church a faithful and irreproachable Hierarchy. That without these experiences, Monsignor Pecci should have been sent to rule such a diocese as that of Perugia, was of itself remarkable. The comparative youth of the new bishop was another apparent disadvantage. He was not yet thirty-seven years of age when he commenced his active episcopal career. With the disadvantages of want of pastoral experience, and of years against him, there must have been qualities in the new prelate which to a discerning Pontiff and people afforded more than ample compensation. These qualities were, as his episcopal career testified afterwards, his keen natural insight into human character—his strength of will—his personal sweetness of disposition—and his enthusiastic devotion to the service of the Church. For such a man as he there was noble work to do in his new career. And Gioacchino Pecci did it.

He began his reforms of the diocese at the beginning. Naturally enough, in a province which had been disturbed for years by civil commotion and the reign of lawlessness, the organisation of religion could not be very perfect; and in Perugia, when Bishop Pecci ascended the episcopal throne, there was, at all events, room for considerable improvement. Although the first years of his episcopate were full of domestic and political troubles, the young Bishop of Perugia did not turn aside from his pastoral duty. The revolutionary outbreaks of 1848 were already throwing their shadows before. The rumblings of political discontent, the mutterings of political conspiracy, disturbed men's minds from one end of the Italian peninsula to the other; and it was no secret that, in the councils of the conspirators, while the State was made the avowed objective point of their political machinations, the Church was also aimed at. In the heat of political passion men, suffering from social and political grievances, dreamt of no other deliverance than the total abolition of all authority—moral, spiritual, and political. Obviously, the mission of the Bishop of Perugia, in a diocese, but a few years before his advent, a prey to lawlessness, was rendered all the more difficult by the dangers a-head. Then, too, early in his episcopate, he lost his discerning friend and patron, the Sovereign Pontiff, to whose appreciation of his character and ability he owed, under Providence, the high office to which he had attained. Gregory the Sixteenth died before his *protégé*, Monsignor Pecci, was able to take possession of the see to which he had appointed him. He entered Perugia a mourner for the Pontiff who had sent him thither, and the ecclesiastical servant of his successor. For meanwhile, Pius the Ninth had entered on the most memorable Pontificate since the days of Peter, and with his accession to the supreme rule of the Church, came the first signs of the persecutions and the tribulations which were to follow him throughout his pontifical career.

Amid such afflictions and such presages of evil, Monsignor Pecci set himself to the task of completely reorganising his diocese. Regarding education as the truest aid and most effectual protection of Religion, he devoted himself to the task of training a body of highly-educated clergy. The Diocesan Seminary College—the training-school of the Perugian priesthood—was improved, a new system of discipline introduced, a severe probationary test exacted, and a much higher standard of culture insisted on. He was already preparing for the spiritual and moral care of the coming generation. Having thus taken forethought for the future of Perugia, he proceeded to extend his idea of re-organisation to the whole Province of Umbria, in which his

diocese was situate. He summoned his episcopal colleagues to a general assembly in Synod at Spoleto, and there laid before them the schemes he had formed for the re-organisation of the ecclesiastical government, and the development of spiritual life. The assembled bishops—all much older prelates than himself—not only acceded to his plans, but appointed him to draw up his schemes in detail for practical application. In his own diocese of Perugia, and, indeed, throughout the whole province, the disorder, which it had been his first mission to dispel, had left its traces. The cathedrals and the churches, as well as most of the religious houses—many of them repositories of treasures of art—had been despoiled, allowed to fall into dilapidation, or neglected. With his own private means he began the work of architectural restoration. Everywhere throughout his diocese, priests and people imitated his example. Where there were only humble chapels, unfitted to the dignity and the beauty of Catholic worship, magnificent temples took their place; where, in the midst of crowded populations, there was no sanctuary, churches were built and new parishes founded. Beginning in the very first year of his episcopate, the work of restoration and extension continued, till he was called to the highest of all ecclesiastical dignities, and still goes on. It is recorded that, during his episcopate, thirty-six new churches were opened in Perugia, and that on his accession to the Sovereign Pontificate six were being built. As rapid and as extensive was the growth of religious and scholastic institutions providing facilities for the cultivation of spiritual and intellectual life, which nowhere in Italy, with the exception of Rome itself, are more abundant, or in a higher state of organization. To record in detail the measures adopted by the energetic prelate, in his pastoral crusade against immorality, would be to write a diary of his life. Each day chronicled something done for the moral or material improvement of the people placed under his charge.

As became a bishop of a Church which levels all mankind in the duty of obedience to the Divine will, and in the necessity of Faith, the Bishop of Perugia was no respecter of persons. The poor he had always with him in his labours for the sanctification of souls. It is true of Italy, as of most Christian countries, that poverty leads to simplicity of life, and simplicity is generally the companion of Virtue. Unless in the crowded cities, the poor lead simple lives, and are preserved from the gross but elegantly-gilded vices, which often destroy the sense of moral responsibility, and vitiate the whole character of the wealthy classes. Monsignor Pecci found the upper classes of Perugia afflicted with what are called "Society" vices. We have a pretty vivid picture of what they are in the story of Byron's sojourn in Italy. A contempt of the Sixth Commandment was almost as general as the repudiation of the Seventh had been before Vincenzo Pecci ruled as Papal Delegate. It is a curious psychological fact, that latitudinarian morals usually accompany that shallow phase of Intellectuality called Scepticism. Faith and Chastity are exiled together. It was fashionable in Perugia among certain classes to be sceptical. Religion was to those classes all very well in its way as an æsthetic ornament of human existence, and religious discipline was indeed an excellent thing for keeping the lower classes of society on their good and reverential behaviour towards their betters. Good taste and theology were, however, incompatible. Culture and Conscience had dissolved partnership. Yet the sceptics of the drawing-room masqueraded in religious garb in the temple. Your continental sceptic goes to church occasionally, and in his heart of hearts has no belief in his lip-theories of negation. Bishop Pecci, with the courage of his mission, made up his mind, that if morality was to resume its rule in Perugia, he must boldly attack the dominant vices and non-beliefs of "Society." Pastoral after Pastoral denounced them. Discourse after discourse, read in every church in the diocese, argued against them, even from the worldly-wisdom point of view. The new theories of the modern school of Sceptics were boldly met by him in the pulpit—their often fascinating garb of eloquence ruthlessly torn aside—and contrasted with the affirmative teachings of the Church, and the influence of both on the happiness of human life contrasted. Whatever the effect of preaching and teaching might be on the generation addressed, Scepticism could only be effectually met by something more substantial, than an elementary education in Christian doctrine. The Bishop directed the attention of his clergy constantly to this necessity, and, indeed, made the effective teaching of the fundamental Christian truths and laws to the young the chief duty of the priesthood. Confraternities and religious societies, in various forms of organization, sprung up all over the diocese, to aid the work of religiously educating the young. At every stage onwards to manhood

and womanhood, the youth of Perugia found ready for them the means of cultivating faith and acquiring knowledge simultaneously. Science and religion went hand in hand in the education of the young Perugians. Never neglecting the faith of his flock, bringing his vast learning and his dialectical power into frequent play against every evil phase of unbelief, the personal superintendence of his diocese always remained his principal charge. Visiting the parishes personally, examining into the condition of the seminaries, he left no spiritual or educational want unprovided for. For the fatherless, made fatherless by the wars of the Sardinian statesmen, he founded orphanages; for the children of the upper classes, he provided the highest educational advantages by the foundation of the celebrated Scientific Academy of St. Thomas; while for the education of the poor, he secured the services of the Belgian Brothers of Mercy. The period of Bishop Pecci's rule was full of dangers to the faith. During thirty years, at least, of his sojourn amongst the people, to whose souls he was called to minister, trouble succeeded trouble in the history of the Church. The Bishop of Perugia, in the centre of the battle-ground, wherever the conflict between Social Anarchy and Moral Right was waged, was necessarily a combatant against the encroachments of the enemy, who, clothed in the second-hand cloak of Liberty, was marching against the spiritual, as much as the temporal rights of the Holy See. Thus, as early as 1860, we find him eloquently defending the temporal power of the Popes against the irreligious revolutionists who hid their ulterior designs behind the popular cry of Italian Unity.

In the diocese of Monsignor Pecci the Sardinian Monarchy made secret alliances with the disaffected classes, who had an interest in the prevalence of disorder. They betrayed their countrymen and their Sovereign; so that when the invaders brought their arms against the city of Perugia, they found an easy entrance. Monsignor Pecci did not desert his flock. He remained in Perugia; but he never acknowledged the right of the Sardinian Monarchy to rule in the Papal States, and consistently refused to hold any communication with his new masters. He saw with sorrow the property of the Church plundered, and the seminary to whose success he had devoted so much of his enthusiasm, dismantled. While students and priests were evicted from their scholastic homes, he could not call his episcopal palace his own. He opened it to the refugees made destitute by the Italian government, remarking that two rooms were sufficient for his wants. Humble as the humblest of them, he shared their life, and gave bounteously of his goods to provide for their necessities. The so-called liberators of Italy had even then exposed the cloven-foot of their designs, and the religious orders were the first victims of the impecunious monarchy. The Italian statesmen who denied the right of the Church to temporal power, assumed to themselves spiritual prerogatives. Amongst the priesthood there were a few, who in their love for false liberty, renounced the duty of their sacred office. For them the Bishop of Perugia had no mercy, and his pastoral severity brought on him the persecution of the government, to whose innovations he was so dangerous an enemy. Three of his priests signed a protest against the Temporal power of the Pope. Bishop Pecci suspended them, and found himself prosecuted in the courts of the King, whose temporal authority in Perugia he repudiated. The courts of the Italian monarch justified his action, and acquitted him. In every individual instance, such as the expulsion of the hermits of Monte Corona, in which the authority, the teaching, as the property of the Church was attacked, the Bishop stood forth as their defender. He disputed the encroachments of the Italian politicians inch by inch, and only yielded to armed force.

The revolutionary monarchy from Sardinia having given the property of the Church over to its adherents on the first invasion of the Papal States, next made war against the Sacraments. Civil matrimony was decreed necessary—religious marriage unnecessary. Against this invasion of the holiness of domestic life, this wholesale secularization of the affections, the Bishop appealed, but appealed in vain, to King Victor Emmanuel, in his public letters which, though they made no impress on the policy of the King's ministers, at all events increased the popular respect for the sanctification of the married state. Monsignor Pecci knew, as every experienced priest knows, that in the homes founded without the blessing of religion, the teachings of religion seldom find a sanctuary.

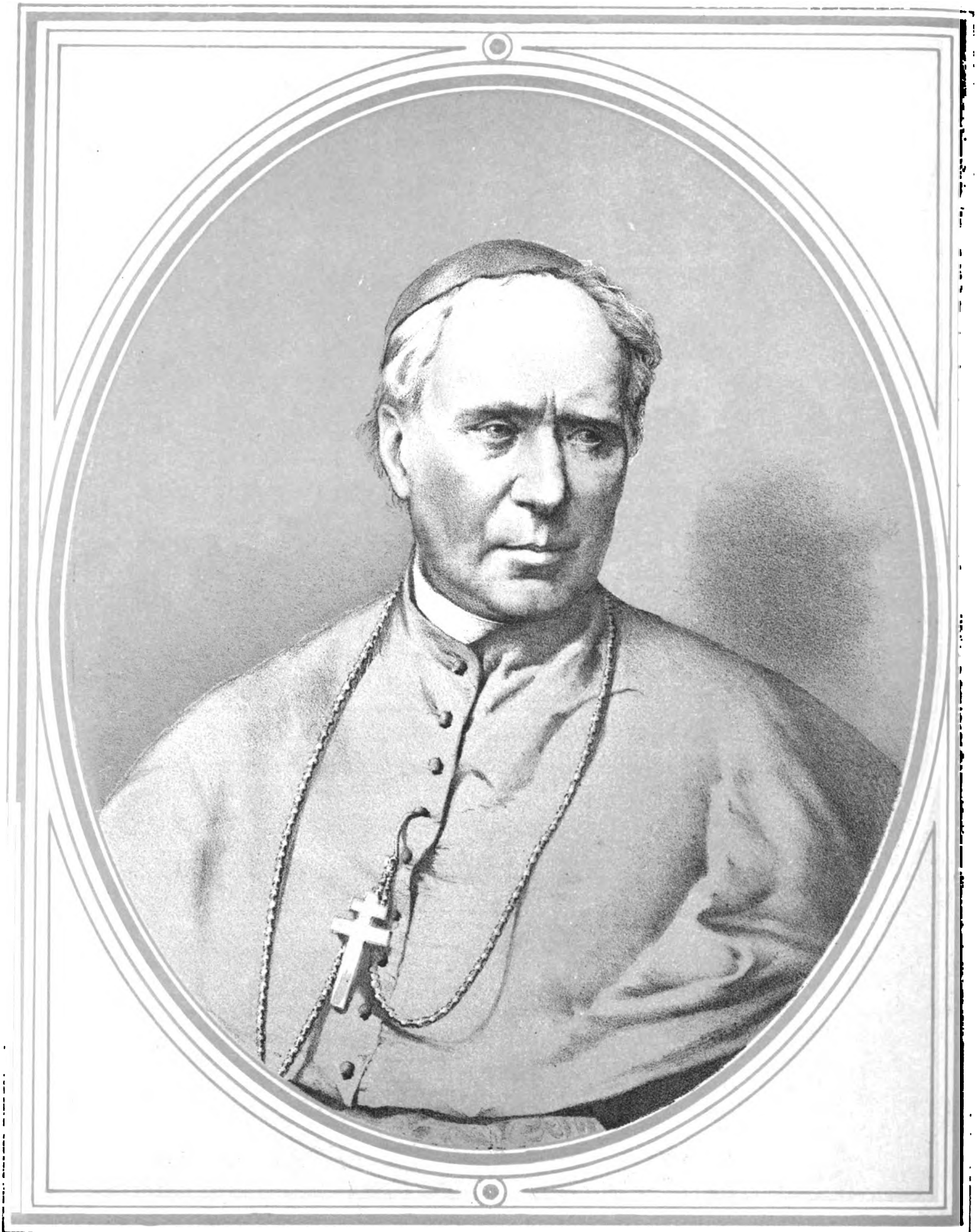
Vincenzo Pecci had nobly earned his title to be ranked among the Princes of the Church when, in 1853, he was created Cardinal Priest, with the title of St. Chrysogonus, by Pius the Ninth. But from the

commencement of his Cardinalate he never sought distinction at the Pontifical Court, and took little part in the executive government of the Universal Church. He attended the Council of 1854, and among his most eloquent utterances, will be found his proclamation to his Diocese of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, and his learning gave light to the fathers of the Church assembled in the Vatican Council of 1869, on the question of Papal Infallibility.

Possessing unmistakable literary talent, he never became a *litterateur*. The turmoil of his time left him little opportunity for literary pursuits. An elegant Latin poet, his imaginative power found expression in Latin hymns—models of purity and eloquence in expression, and of exalted feeling. His classic compositions in Latin and Italian, will by-and-by find a place in the literary history of the conflict between Faith and Unbelief—between Church and State in Italy. No more cogent piece of reasoning will be found in modern Catholic literature than his reply to Renan's daring impeachment of the divinity of the Saviour, and our time has not seen an abler statement of the mission of the Church in the world than his now famous pastoral in the "Church and Civilization."

Seldom visiting Rome, he could not seek advancement from the personal favor of the Pontiff, who, nevertheless, remembered the enthusiasm with which bishop and people of Perugia had received him during his progress through the States of the Church in 1857—and the demonstrations of attachment on the occasion of his Jubilee. When, towards the close of 1877, Pio Nono selected Cardinal Pecci as chief of the Apostolic Chamber and Carmerlengo of the Holy Roman Church, he evinced by his choice his hearty appreciation of the labours of the Cardinal Bishop, and his unreserved trust in his ability and loyalty. The Carmerlengo became the Chief Privy Counsellor of Pio Nono—the repository of his hopes, of his policy, of his ambitions on behalf of the Church. In the Pontifical household his presence was felt by the reforms in its administration, which he inaugurated. His office of High Chamberlain of the Church brought him into constant contact with his colleagues of the Sacred College, and gave them an opportunity of personally measuring the character and the attainments of the man who had made for himself one of the most sterling reputations in the Catholic Hierarchy.

It seemed as if he was chosen Carmerlengo only to watch by Pius the Ninth in the last days of the great Pontiff's career. In November he was summoned to Rome. On the 8th of February Pius the Ninth ceased to rule Catholicism; and on Cardinal Pecci, as High Chamberlain, devolved the administration of the Church, until the successor of Pius had been chosen. It was his duty to attest the death of the Pope, and to make the arrangements for the summoning of the Conclave of the Cardinals; and so it came to pass that he made the arrangements for his own election to the sacred office. As Cardinal Carmerlengo he entered the Conclave on the 18th of February; as Pope Leo the XIII. he issued from it on the 20th of February, 1878, to receive the homage of the whole Catholic world through its ecclesiastical princes. Even the nations outside the Church hailed his election with pleasure. In him they recognized, as the religious ruler of over two hundred millions, a Pontiff imbued with a reverence for science, a love of learning, a thorough appreciation of modern civilization. They imagined they saw in him the promise of compromise with false Culture and the aggressive doctrines of the rulers who would separate Faith and Civilization. In that they forgot the character of the distinguished soldier of the Church Militant who, throughout a long career, had devoted all his high talents to the Faith of Peter and the independence of the patrimony of the Prince of the Apostles, whose mission and authority live in the person of Leo XIII.



W. B. & M. A. Smith, 1871.

+ Paul Card Cullen.

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When the Eighteenth Century closed, Catholicism was not a popular creed within the British Empire. The followers of the Fisherman's Successor, were not, it is true, in any danger of death at the hands of the public executioner, and there was little chance of the prison cell being the ordinary dwelling place of the devout believer in the Seven Sacraments. Nevertheless, the life of the Catholic was a life of civil martyrdom. Politically he was banned, though he was legally allowed to worship his Creator according to his own conscience. The ambitions of civil life were to him impossible aspirations. The duty of paying handsomely for the privilege of being a British citizen was imposed upon him, while the rights of citizenship for which he paid, were denied to him. In England he possessed the peace which the slave-owner allows to his serf; in Ireland he had no peace whatever. When the Nineteenth Century opened, he was only emerging from a sanguinary ordeal, quite as repulsive, inhuman, and intolerant, as that which the Roman Christians underwent eighteen hundred years before. For the persecutions of 1798 were merely religious crusades against Roman Catholicism, under the name of political warfare against Irish Rebellion. The people who revolted in Ireland were the oppressed serfs of a Protestant Empire; they took up arms, because even in their own Catholic land they were plundered, persecuted, and impoverished by the Protestant civil and military army of occupation, holding the country for, and in the name of the Crown of Great Britain. The country was virtually ruled by the Protestant adherents of the English Government. They elected to all representative positions, and were precluded from choosing any person of the popular faith for any public trust. Catholicism was even then legally a crime in Ireland; the minds and bodies of its professors were equally held in intolerable subjection by the ruling class. The masses of the population were ignorant, because it had been treason to teach them the elements of knowledge. Within the memory of the middle-aged men of the generation which then lived, the priest and the schoolmaster wandered through the land in constant danger of the prison cell. There were pensioned "priest-hunters" still living on the wages of the spy and the perjurer. Only two years before the close of the century an orgie of persecution had been held; the representatives of the Crown had proclaimed war against the "Papist," and exiled him to Connaught or to unmentionable regions. Men, women, and children had been publicly flogged, shot, and butchered by various processes of inhuman ingenuity, on the mere suspicion of being "Papists," till the disgraceful chapter in the history of the Empire was closed by the Act of Union between Great Britain and Ireland. That Act was passed on the distinct promise that the persecuted people, as soon as their nationality had been legally suppressed, would be at once admitted within the circle of British citizenship. The promise was not kept. Three years after the Union—half a decade after the war of persecution,—the "mere Irish" were still serfs conspiring against their unsympathetic rulers—hungering for any chance whatever of deliverance from the rule of an intolerant oppressor. The people were looking across the waters for freedom at the hands of Bonaparte, anxious to obtain Emancipation from his hands rather than wait wearily through years of agony for the mercy of rulers who had so often deceived them. Robert Emmett was plotting to overthrow English power in the country—and his followers were on the verge of the catastrophe which overtook them—when the great modern enemy of political conspiracy in Ireland was ushered into the world.

Paul Cullen was the son of a Catholic serf who had been an Irish rebel in 1798. Hugh Cullen was a farmer, living at Prospect, Co. Kildare, a man of great courage and intelligence, and of moderate means. He had felt the humiliation of being an "Irish Papist," and early entered into the political projects of the "United Irishmen." In his locality he was an uncompromising enemy of English rule in Ireland. He earned the

esteem of the chiefs of the movement, and became one of the most energetic organizers in his district. He had evidently also the confidence of his neighbours, for he occupied the position of local leader when the disastrous and premature Rebellion was forced on the suffering people. By great ingenuity and good luck he evaded the pursuit of informers, and when hostilities did actually begin, he was found at the head of his comrades leading them in the perilous undertaking. He had evidently acquired some military knowledge, for at one of the engagements between the King's forces and the "United Men"—the battle of Prosperous—he acted as a military leader. After the suppression of the outbreak, he and his escaped capture by "taking to the country"—that is, by hiding amongst his friends by day, and travelling by night—until the storm of persecution had blown over, when he settled down—still unchanged in opinion by defeat and suffering—to the ordinary avocations of a small farmer. But even then he was looked up to by the peasantry with respect and faith, as one who had proved their friend by taking up arms in their cause. To them Hugh Cullen was, and remained to the day of his death, a soldier of Irish nationhood.

This Hugh Cullen was the father of the future Cardinal. He had married a Miss Maher, the daughter of a farmer of his own class. Paul was born on the 29th of April, 1803. By this time Hugh Cullen, must have attained tolerably comfortable circumstances. With the passion for "book learning" which still characterizes the Irish peasant, he, as soon as his son Paul was able to go to school, determined to give him the best possible education within his means. Throughout Ireland, towards the end of the last century and the beginning of this, the members of the Society of Friends were frequently the schoolmasters of the wealthier class. The higher education of the time was altogether in the hands of the ascendancy clique. To the Quaker schools the young Catholics were therefore sent, because the conscientious disciples of George Fox taught no antagonistic doctrines, and confined themselves to the purely secular in their scholastic course. It so happened that Ballitore possessed one of the most celebrated of these schools, kept by a highly cultivated and conscientious family named Shackelton, in which the profession of schoolmaster was hereditary.

While suffering herself for her adherence to her faith, Ireland has been always ready to give a sympathetic refuge to the persecuted of other lands. The Huguenots found friendship and wealth in Ireland on their flight from France. "The People called Quakers" were received with kindness by the Irish when they could no longer endure the intolerance of their Protestant neighbours in England. One of those refugees was Abraham Shackelton, who, finding life among his own countrymen in Yorkshire intolerable, sought a quiet resting place in Ballitore. He settled down there with his family in 1726, and opened his famous school. In one of the Chronicles of his community it is recorded that he was "A very accomplished and amiable man." "His educational venture," primitive, kindly, cultured Mary Leadbeater says, "succeeded beyond the humble hopes of its conductors, so that not only those of their own Society and the middle rank, but many persons of considerable note and of various denominations placed their children under their care, several of whom afterwards filled conspicuous stations in life." Edmund Burke was one of these latter, and spent three of his early years under the tuition of Abraham Shackelton. Barry, the painter—who owed so much of his future fame to the great statesman and orator—was another, and the roll of pupils is crowded with names of social distinction in Ireland—Saxon and Celt, Protestant and Catholic being intermingled indiscriminately—speaking eloquently of the tolerance of the Irish character. Burke writes pleasantly to Mary Leadbeater—the grand-daughter of Abraham Shackelton—of the wonderful faculty of the family in winning the affections of the pupils placed under their care.

In the latter half of the last century the school passed to the direction of Abraham's only son, Richard, the father of the author of the "Leadbeater Papers" and the "Chronicles of Ballitore"; and when Paul Cullen entered the academy it was conducted by Richard's son-in-law—James White. On the school roll, "Paul Cullen" is entered as having become one of White's pupils in the year 1813, "on the tenth day of the fifth month"; and in the same year Hugh Cullen and Michael Cullen are chronicled among the new scholars. In Paul Cullen's first year at Ballitore Academy, the institution was visited by the late Duke of Leinster, who impressed the Quaker family as "a young man of genteel figure, agreeable countenance, and

easy manners"; and thus, men who were to know so much of one another in after life—the relative of the patrician rebel, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and the son of his plebian follower, Hugh Cullen, the future Cardinal—met for the first time. Old men in Ireland still remember the year of the "great snow"—1814—when Ballitore was completely shut out from the world, and it took a week to communicate with Dublin, only twenty-eight miles distant. During that year Judge Day paid a formal visit to Ballitore, when on circuit, and the Quaker schoolmaster quaintly asked him to accept a pair of white gloves. Apparently in the simplicity of their lives, scholars and schoolmaster were ordinarily nearly as much shut out from the busy world as they were during the great snow; for we find Mary Leadbeater—the most cultured member of the family, whose gentle presence must have had a refining influence on the pupils of her brother-in-law—naively asking one of her literary correspondents in that year, "Canst thou tell me whether Lord Byron and Lord Strangford are one and the same person. There is fine poetry in 'Childe Harold,' but, being like Beattie's 'Minstrel,' neither narrative nor didactic, it causes some confusion in my head to comprehend it. Lord Byron always is very melancholy, and bewails his 'Thyrza' in beautiful numbers." This and many similar passages from Mary Leadbeater's letters indicate the literary atmosphere breathed at Ballitore by Paul Cullen and his schoolfellows, as well as the simplicity and unsophisticated character of his mentors.

A few years spent at the Shackelton academy provided Paul with a sound elementary education. They were sufficient to supply evidence that he was not destined to follow in his father's footsteps as a tiller of the soil. Languages appeared to be his favourite study; in mathematics he also attained great proficiency and class honors. He displayed a decided tendency towards the service of the Church, and while still a youth, was sent by his parents to the Catholic College of Carlow, in which one of the most distinguished Irish Churchmen of the day—the late Dr. Doyle—famous in controversial literature, and the political history of the period as "J.K.L.," was then Professor of Theology.

Although it had become "the best school in Ireland," according to Dr. Doyle, St. Patrick's College, Carlow, had had its vicissitudes, singularly illustrative of the humiliating condition of the Irish Catholics a hundred years ago. In 1758 the Penal Laws were so far modified that Catholics were allowed to keep schools and to teach. This partial repeal of the restrictions against education was quickly taken advantage of by the impoverished priests and people. Kilkenny was first in the field in founding an educational establishment for higher education; Carlow was second. The Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin—the Right Rev. Dr. Keeffe—aided by a good priest, succeeded in raising the modest sum of one hundred pounds, and with that began the erection of the building. The clergy and laity were generous according to their means in giving aid, and subscriptions from a "British sixpence" to "a guinea or more" are recorded among the early donations from the parishes of the diocese. Periodical "hat collections for brass" also added to the store, and, poor as they were, the parish priests bound themselves for some time to pay annually a guinea-and-a-half each towards the foundation of an establishment for the education of their successors. By energy and self-denial the Catholics of the diocese of Kildare and Leighlin succeeded in erecting a spacious and handsome College; but the utmost self-sacrifice could not enable them to provide £600 a year for its maintenance. As training schools for the future priests of the Irish people, both Kilkenny and Carlow were so successful, that the Irish Parliament, in 1795, thought it good policy to found, erect, and endow Maynooth College for the purpose of controlling the education of the teachers of the Irish people, and of alienating the one from the other. The Ministry of the day—blind to the experiences of history—fancied that the Irish priesthood would as readily sell their consciences at the bidding of the "powers that be," as the English of the Reformation period had done. In Maynooth, after all, English statesmanship only created an ecclesiastical Frankenstein for itself.

Dr. Delaney, who succeeded Dr. Keeffe, as Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, driven to the direst straits to maintain St. Patrick's College, appealed, somewhat abjectly, to the Government for aid. In his pitiful petition he implores "the illustrious personages here addressed to give to the College a share of the bounty which they had already extended to the new establishment. On their eventual determination," he pleaded, "tremblingly hangs at this decisive moment, the final destiny of this tottering house, rapidly hastening, without a figure, to the ground, unless they are pleased to extend a hand to support it. May God,

in his mercy, inspire them to pronounce a favourable sentence." Fortunately for the independence of the Church in Ireland, the "illustrious personages" did not pronounce a favourable sentence. Dr. Delaney was gathered to his fathers, when, on February 17th, 1817, Paul Cullen entered the "tottering house" at Carlow. So poor was the College even then, that when "J.K.L.," with all his intellectual force, learning, and eloquence, became Professor of Rhetoric, he was compelled to content himself with the munificent sum of £20 a-year; and felt rich, indeed, when later on, he received £25 as Professor of Theology. To this illustrious individual, Ireland is directly indebted for the preservation of her Church from the concealed designs of the Government of the day. He had the prescience to prepare an antidote in the special education of men for the Hierarchy. Taking the youths sent to Carlow College, he picked from amongst them those whose abilities and character promised qualifications for the higher ecclesiastical duties, and the power of his intellect was devoted in directing the studies of those chosen leaders of the future. It was his great care to instil into their minds a spirit of independence of State control in Religion. He formed a school of Irish Nationalists in ecclesiastical affairs. And Paul Cullen was one of the favourites, whom "J.K.L." determined to train for distinction.

To Bishop O'Connor "J.K.L." prophesied that his industrious pupil would one day rise to eminence in the Church, and in after years stated that he remembered him at Carlow College in 1819 "as a youth of no ordinary promise, and he knew him in 1834 as one of the ablest theologians in the Church." So affectionate and favorable was the great bishop's memory of Paul Cullen, that in that very year—1834—while the young priest was pursuing his vocation in Rome, he strongly desired to have him as his co-adjutor bishop in the diocese of Kildare. When the clergy had assembled to choose a co-adjutor to the eminent chief, he is chronicled by his biographer to have said, as he left them to their deliberations—"May God direct them in their choice. I wonder will they have the good sense to elect that boy in Rome—he possesses every requisite qualification, even to being a native of the diocese." But, much to the disappointment of his old professor, "that boy in Rome"—who happened to have attained his thirty-first year—was not even among the three names returned by the scrutators for the choice of the Holy See. He was reserved for a greater mission in the Church in Ireland, and providentially for Irish Catholicism, remained near the Holy Father, to interpret the wishes of the Irish Hierarchy and to counteract, by his advice, the machinations of the politicians who would have sold their birthright of religious independence for the "mess of pottage"—Government favour. What life in Carlow College was, Dr. Doyle himself indicates in a letter of introduction given to a "Mr. Cullen," one of his pupils, in the year 1816. He describes him as "a young lad of whom I am very fond, chiefly on account of the simplicity and innocence of his mind, and the good progress he is making in his studies. If he calls on you," he says to his friend, "he will, I am certain, get his dinner, which is sometimes a very acceptable thing to a student. How often in my life, when a scholar, would I consider a good dinner as little short of a special favor of Providence." Dr. Cullen, when Archbishop of Dublin, was ready to bear his grateful testimony to the value of "J.K.L.'s" teaching and appreciation. "When I was very young" he wrote to Doyle's biographer, "and commencing my studies in Carlow College, I had the happiness of knowing Dr. Doyle—then Professor of Theology in that noble and flourishing Catholic Institution—and of enjoying his instructions and receiving encouragement from his paternal kindness." The "instructions" referred to were never forgotten by the future leader of the Church in Ireland, whose episcopal life was one long warfare in defence of the independence of Irish Nationality in the ecclesiastical government of Catholicism. Other bishops had also been fashioned by "J.K.L." for the destiny which afterwards became theirs; and the names of Nolan, Walsh, and Clancy remain in the roll of the Irish Hierarchy as tributes to the success of the great teacher of the teachers of the Irish Church. Paul Cullen must have shown remarkable readiness to have so soon earned the esteem of his Professors, for he only remained a student at Carlow until July, 1818.

Maynooth was then open to students for the priesthood, but young Paul Cullen had the high ambition of preparing for his sacred profession in Rome itself. Mrs. Cullen's brother—afterwards as the parish priest of Graigue in Carlow, a notable character in Irish popular politics—was then in Rome, senior student at the Irish College. The nephew's desire to study in the Eternal City had been strengthened by the graphic letters of the uncle. It was Father Maher's fortune to reside at Rome during stormy times for the

Papacy, and to see with his own eyes the work of the restoration of the ecclesiastical organization of the Church, and the independence of the Papal States. The Roman schools—whither students from all parts of the world had flocked before the disturbances of the French Revolution, and the subsequent Napoleonic wars troubled the continent—had been re-opened, and were again filling with candidates for the priesthood. Catholic fervour, which had only been intensified by the persecution of the Church, which existed during the French Republic—expressed itself by visits to Rome of the leading ecclesiastics and lay Catholics throughout Europe, anxious to congratulate the Holy Father on his restoration to his throne. To Paul Cullen, studying in the quiet Carlow College, the City of St. Peter was no doubt a pontifical paradise, and his travelling thither a pilgrimage of love. In those days the journey to Rome was no easy matter. Embarking at Howth, in a sailing vessel, young Cullen spent three days amid the squalls of the Irish Sea, before he was safely landed at Holyhead. Journeying by stage coach through France and Savoy, he crossed the Alps by a dangerous road cut by the army of Napoleon I., and heard the welcome cry “Ecco Roma!” after six weeks weary travelling. He entered the City of the Popes an Irish lad of sixteen, little dreaming that it was to be his home for thirty years of his life, and that he was only to leave the shadow of St. Peter’s to take his seat as the successor of the Apostle Patrick, in the Primatial See of his native land; that, during his residence near the seat of the Fisherman, he was to see, know, and be favoured by four successors of the Prince of the Apostles.

The Irish College to which Paul Cullen was sent, was not the edifice within whose precincts the heart of Daniel O’Connell lies enshrined. During the occupation of the Eternal City by the French, the institution devoted to the education of students for the priesthood, was suppressed, and the homeless Levites were formally affiliated to the College of the Propaganda. In one respect, the suppression was fortunate, for it brought the students into close contact with Monsignor Cappellari, the Prefect. As Padre Cappellari, he delighted to assist at the theological discussions, and mentally marked the youths, who, by-and-bye, were to become the leaders in the Church. To the admiration he conceived for the Irish students, is due the present position of the Irish ecclesiastical establishment in Rome. It was not, however, till 1826 that Pope Leo XII. determined to restore the college as a separate institution. The old house on the Monte Quirinale was deemed insufficient for the increased educational demands of the Irish Catholics; and, by his Bull, “*Plura inter Collegia*,” Leo granted the Umbrian College, and its small adjoining chapel in the street, *Della Botteghe Oscure*, to the students for the “*Insula sanctorum*.” Here, under the venerable Dr. Blake, afterwards Bishop of Dromore, Paul Cullen completed his studies for the priesthood, and prepared for the scholastic triumphs he was to win a few years later on in his career. When Dr. Paul Cullen was Rector, in 1836, his friend, Cardinal Cappellari—then Pope Gregory the Sixteenth,—bestowed on the Irish College its present stately edifice, and the beautiful Church of St. Agatha, sanctified by its memories of Gregory the Great.

In the Irish College he early justified the high opinion which the eminent Dr. Doyle had formed of the Carlow student. From the beginning, Paul Cullen was an ascetic. Without much of the mental buoyancy of his race, he had all the keenness and eagerness of the Celt; he worked hard by night and day, adding his favorite study of languages to the tasks imposed upon him by the College course. He was rather more fluent as a speaker in Latin than in English, and he became one of the learned Hebraists of his period. With the Propaganda are affiliated the Colleges of all the nationalities of the Church in Rome. Students from the Holy Cities of the East, from the busy haunts of the West, from all parts of the world in fact, there gather together in the competitions of scholarship. To obtain distinction among such competitors argues the possession of extraordinary mental gifts, and these Paul Cullen undoubtedly possessed. He was an omnivorous reader, a restless enquirer, who, even in the rudimentary stages of his education, sought out for himself the fullest knowledge on the subjects given to him for study. Among all the students at the Irish College—many of them destined to great after-distinction in the Church and in the world—Paul Cullen was noted for his opulence of information in most subjects of theological investigation. To his companions he was a living encyclopædia, ever ready to supply them with solutions of difficult points of knowledge, and to aid the less studious with the results of his hard reading. Solidity rather than versatility was his forte as a

student; and yet the reminiscences of his scholastic contemporaries contain many episodes which indicated the possession of brilliancy by their fellow-student. He was one of the keenest debaters who frequented the halls of the Propaganda, and shared in the theologic discussions for which the institution is famous.

In time he had the opportunity given to all ardent students in the Propaganda of vindicating the reputation he had acquired, by public competition for the coveted degree of Doctor of Divinity. He was twenty-five years of age when, in 1828, he, in presence of an audience of distinguished scholars and notable fellow-students, maintained for a whole day a discussion on Divinity and Church history. The reigning Pontiff was present; and two other Popes of the future listened with unconcealed admiration to his fervid Latin orations, and his keen arguments, wielded against all comers, with a force of reasoning and strength of expression, which he never lost in after life. Vincenzo Gioacchino Pecci was there, having just determined to devote himself to the service of the Church in the priesthood. Cardinal Cappellari, the Prefect of the Propaganda—to whom the young candidate for the Doctorship was to owe his early advancement in Rome—was present in his official capacity. There were also many of the scions of the Italian nobility, some of whom in time came to be numbered among the distinguished Princes of the Church. Nicholas Wiseman, learned in science and the arts—the future standard-bearer of restored Catholicism in England, and the first Archbishop of Westminster—was one of the throng of enthusiastic students who voted the degree to the eloquent young Irishman. In accordance with the custom regulating the ordeal of intellectual battle, when the teachers had determined that Paul Cullen should appear in the arena, as the champion of Hibernian culture in Rome, invitations had been issued to every educational establishment in the City, challenging their best and foremost *alumni* to do battle with the candidate for the honors of the Doctorate. Previously, however, Paul Cullen had been compelled by usage to compose and issue in print his thesis, which was bound to contain no less than one hundred arguable points—but in his case contained more than double the number. The professors and students of the other colleges were challenged to controvert any of the propositions advanced in the printed thesis, and the claimant of the Degree was bound to defend them against the disputants. On the morning of the “Concursus,” as the competition is called, all may attack the thesist, and he is bound to answer each. The late Cardinal Wiseman, who was present, confessed that the young Irishman compelled him to “well temper his weapon.” On that day of September, 1828, Paul Cullen had more than the ordinary share of opposition to encounter. His fame had been spread among the Roman Schools, and the ablest of the students came to break a lance with him. He bore the day’s ordeal with more than success, and even the ablest professors present admitted that in force of argumentative power and thorough knowledge of Catholic theology Paul Cullen had not his superior at the Propaganda. The Pontiff, Leo XII, was so delighted with the ability displayed by Paul Cullen, that at the close of the day’s proceedings, he addressed the successful competitor in terms of well-deserved eulogy, and with his own hands, there and then, conferred upon him the Doctor’s cap.

After an intellectual triumph so marked in its character, ecclesiastical distinction was certain to follow as a matter of course. He was in due time ordained priest, and became one of the professors of the college in which he had received his training. Cardinal Cappellari never lost sight of him. The students committed to his teaching honoured their master by the proficiency of their learning. He was not the most indulgent of professors. A hard student himself, he constantly impressed on his pupils the necessity of diligent study, if they would attain solid learning. He introduced into his department of the college, stricter discipline than had ever before been in use there. His own daily life was one of monastic piety and self-denial, and the example of the professor was not without its effect on the daily lives of the students. The task assigned him was no ordinary one. His countrymen at home had only just attained religious freedom, and the Church in Ireland, for the first time since the Reformation, had been given free scope for the pursuit of her mission to men. A new order of priests and teachers was required to shape and govern the destinies of the emancipated Church. To train up such an order of men was the first duty and design of Father Paul Cullen, and he did this by improving the system of the institution whence most of the distinguished Irish ecclesiastics of these latter days were to emerge. That he attained an unexpected degree of success, was shown by the heavy responsibilities thrown upon him early in his career. Cardinal Cappellari had not long resigned

the Prefecture of the Propaganda, to assume the supreme Pontificate, when the Rectorship of the Irish College became vacant. By the personal desire of Pope Gregory the Sixteenth, the onerous position was offered to, and accepted by, Father Cullen, who had for some time fulfilled the duties of the Vice-Rectorship.

The new Rector of the Irish College had evidently strongly impressed Pope Gregory the Sixteenth with his individuality. Invitations to visit the Pontiff were frequently received by him, and he was often consulted by his Holiness on important matters of ecclesiastical law. The two men were suited in tastes, though there was great distance in age between them. To the private apartments of Gregory, Monsignor Cullen had always free entry; without formal invitation, shared the Pope's hospitality—though Gregory was as great an ascetic as his *protégé*—and ate sparingly of the simplest fare, and seldom tasted even the mild wines of Italy. There were many questions concerning the Church in Ireland on which the Pontiff needed a confidential adviser, who could read the soul of Ireland and interpret the Catholic mind. From the date of the Union the English Government had used all its diplomatic craft to obtain from the head of the Church some control over the Irish Hierarchy; even the misfortunes of the Holy See were taken advantage of in pressing the audacious claim of a Protestant power to a ruling share in the ecclesiastical government of a Catholic people. Britain, in a state of apostacy from the Church, sought even more extensive privileges from the Holy See than had ever been granted to the Catholic Sovereigns of England. The English Government was willing to grant Catholic Emancipation, if it could only obtain the virtual government of the Catholic Church in Ireland; this it was proposed to secure by the right of Vetoing the appointment of its Bishops.

No more pitiful evidence of the condition of humiliation to which the Irish Catholics had been reduced, by centuries of unceasing persecution, could be adduced than the readiness with which educated Catholics, and even dignitaries of the Church, were willing to concede the audacious claim. William Pitt had almost induced most of the influential members of the Irish Hierarchy to agree to an arrangement by which the Government would obtain a peremptory voice in the appointment of the "high dignitaries of the Church" in Ireland. Many of the Catholics were, after the completion of the Act of Union, only too anxious to concede the strange demand in exchange for a political emancipation, which would, under such an agreement as was proposed, have placed them on a humiliating equality with the Protestant nobles, who then had a monopoly of the civil government of the "Kingdom of Ireland." Even Grattan, inspired as he was by the genius of Liberty, saw no evil in giving the Ministry at least the right to inquire into the loyalty of any ecclesiastic selected for high office in the Church. Every scheme that diplomacy could suggest was offered to settle the "Catholic Question" before the agitation for Emancipation, being organized by O'Connell, should take any tangible shape in the popular mind. If the Hierarchy and the peers could only have been wheedled into some shameful concession, on the plea of expediency and the public peace, the object of the Ministry would have been gained, and a new Governmental influence over the people secured, through the priesthood itself. It was even proposed that the parish priests should bind themselves by oath not to vote for any candidate for a bishopric, of whose loyalty they had any doubt, and to submit the name of the nominee for any See to a board composed of two Catholic bishops (of approved loyalty, of course,) two Catholic laymen, and two Protestant members of the Government. This was in lieu of an entirely Protestant board, seriously suggested by Lord Castlereagh. The daring propositions of the Government supporters had the effect of arousing public opinion. By the formation of the Catholic Committee, the Emancipation movement was launched, and the people given some opportunity of expressing their opinion on the terms proposed in exchange for their religious freedom. The bishops themselves became alarmed, and in 1808 pronounced against the proposition for giving a Veto to the English Crown. The agitation for a repeal of the remaining restrictions on the professors of the popular faith, only increased the diplomatic activity of the English agents at the Austrian and other Continental courts; and in 1814 Monsignor Quarantotti, Prefect of the Propaganda, requested Dr. Poynter, the Vicar-Apostolic of the London District, to use his influence in securing the acceptance, by the clergy and people, of what were known as "Canning's Clauses." Later still, in consequence of the representations obtained by Ministerial influence from members of the Catholic nobility, who were artfully paraded as representing the popular opinion, Quarantotti determined on granting the Veto. It

is unnecessary to write the history of the fierce agitation against this proposition. Sufficient, that in a national protest against it, O'Connell led the laity; while Dr. Doyle—as "J.K.L."—combated the arguments for it with an eloquence and ability, which produced an almost unanimous feeling of resistance on the part of the clergy. Paul Cullen was thoroughly imbued with the views of his Carlow teacher; and during his first years in Rome must have been fully informed of the progress of the agitation. No one was more jubilant than the young student, when, in deference to the representations of bishops, priests, and laity, the concession obtained by the misrepresentation was withdrawn. Within a few years Catholic Emancipation followed, without any offensive stipulations; and both English and Irish clerics in Rome congratulated Leo XII. on the civil freedom won, without the surrender of ecclesiastical independence.

With the disappearance of political serfdom, a new life opened to Irish Catholicism. Who should educate the newly-emancipated people—the Protestant State or the Catholic Hierarchy—became the leading question. The attitude taken by the Holy See, and the influence which popular opinion obtained with Gregory XVI, thanks to his intimacy with the distinguished pupil of "J.K.L.," left Ministers little hope of concessions from the Pontiff. The old rule, *Divide et Impera*, came into operation, and by cleverly playing on the insatiable Hiberian hunger for knowledge, the English statesmen divided ecclesiastical opinion on the scheme of mixed education proposed for Ireland. The "National" Schools supplied an educational want, but they also gave form to the scheme of alienating the new generation from religious influence. Hence, the most influential members of the Hierarchy opposed them, and to the Rev. Paul Cullen, as the agent of the Irish bishops to the Holy See, it became a duty to express the antipathy of the prelates to the scheme. In constant correspondence with Dr. Doyle, he was of necessity the actual ambassador of the Irish Catholics at the Papal Court. Taking no part himself in the movement for Repeal, he was still in sympathy with the agitation, which had secured under O'Connell the national support and the enthusiastic adherence of the most prominent of the Irish prelates, who saw in the restoration of "National" government, a permanent security for the independence of the national faith.

Through the Austrian court the English Ministers still sought influence, and procured from the patient Pope Gregory the unfortunate "Admonitory rescript" censuring the clergy for their addiction to politics. That rescript produced another National protest, which was presented to the Pontiff by his friend, Monsignor Cullen. Besides this political position at the Papal court, another influence belonged to the Rector of the Irish College. His brilliant competition for the doctoral degree, obtained for his attainments such admiration from the learned in Rome, that his victory was chronicled in a marble tablet on the wall of the Propaganda. His learning was frequently called into requisition by the various Congregations of the Sacred College, and as one of the consultors of the Congregation of the Index, his advice on most points of theology and discipline was frequently sought. It was his fortune to direct the obsequies in Rome, for the dead Liberator, and to receive the heart bequeathed to Rome, in its last sanctuary. The resolution of his character, and his firmness of design, were tested in the Revolution which drove Pope Pius the Ninth into exile. He protected, by his energy and his heroism in remaining at his post, both the Propaganda itself and the Irish College, and during the interregnum watched over the interests of his country at the Holy See. Though still a simple priest, leading a modest, ascetic, and devout life, he was perhaps, the most important Irish ecclesiastic of the troublous period.

Dreaming of no episcopal dignity, and fully satisfied with the usefulness of his work at the Irish College, and the influence which the affectionate friendship of the new Pontiff gave him in aiding the cause of Catholicism and social progress in his native land, Dr. Cullen remained at his post during the disastrous period of the Revolutionary occupation of Rome, and the exile of the Holy Father at Gaeta. He was in constant communication with the Irish prelates and with Pope Pius IX. The troubles which had fallen upon Ireland had their measure of tribulation for the Church. The failure of '48—the passionate excitement of Irish political opinion—the appalling disaster of the Famine, and the almost despair of the masses in attaining any political amelioration of their condition, had called for the exercise of the highest qualities of patience and kind counsel from bishops and priests alike. Then came swiftly on the devoted people the

terrible visitation of the Cholera, and prelates and priests were to be found in the lanes and alleys of the cities and towns, bringing temporal and spiritual consolation to the dying thousands of their flocks. Priests went down to the grave—martyrs to their duty of Christian love, and the ranks of the teachers were gradually thinned by the merciless destroyer. With the famine-graves only half closed—their political chiefs in prison—the terror-stricken, despairing multitudes flying to the emigrant ship, as a sanctuary of safety from inexpressible suffering,—the condition of Ireland was akin to that of plague-stricken Egypt, with this difference—there was no Moses to lead the suffering Celts from out of their bondage. It was the Catholic people of Ireland who suffered most—for they were the poor of the land, dwelling in pestiferous places, barren of the wealth, the comfort, and the life-necessaries which are the best physical antidotes to disease, or, indeed, unheralded disasters of any kind.

In the midst of the general consternation, the Catholic people were preparing to celebrate Easter, in the devout hope that it might bring them a resurrection from the plague of Cholera, when on Holy Saturday morning the country was profoundly shocked by the announcement that the Primate of All Ireland had fallen a victim to its ravages. On Good Friday, while the faithful were crowding to the churches to commemorate solemnly the Passion of our Lord, the Venerable Dr. Crolly died at Drogheda. On Holy Thursday he had attended to the special episcopal duties of the day; at midnight he was stricken by the merciless pestilence, and within ten hours afterwards his saintly soul had taken its flight into eternity, and the See of St. Patrick was vacant. Who should be his successor, was the question on everyone's lips. The English press and politicians asked the question with suspicious eagerness. They were nervously anxious that the Holy See should appoint a man of conciliatory disposition, and naturally enough feared the selection of any popular prelate. There was, indeed, need of some soothing influence in Ireland towards the Government. The English administrators had done everything possible to mischievous ingenuity to alienate every section of popular opinion. The political aspirations of the people had been outraged by the treatment of O'Connell and the imprisonment of the Young Irelanders. The religious faith of a nation had been scandalised by the foundation of the Queen's Colleges in direct antagonism to the opinions of the Hierarchy; for almost avowedly, the Collegiate scheme of the English Government was a direct attempt to remove the education of the Catholic middle classes from under the control of the priesthood, and to place it under that of a Protestant state. A pious student with an utter abhorrence of the turmoils of public life, would have been the most acceptable Primate to the English Ministry. The predictions which were made by the press are somewhat amusing—read nearly thirty years after the date of publication. The morning paper founded by Charles Dickens had the best reasons for knowing that the Rev. Dr. Russell—then vice-president of Maynooth—would be the new Primate, because he was “an accomplished scholar and a gentleman of conciliatory character.” Dr. Dixon was desiderated by the *Times* as “a man of great learning and quiet unostentatious habits”; and among the other candidates singled out by various organs of public opinion were—Dr. Cantwell, the Bishop of Meath, and “John, Archbishop of Tuam.” In official quarters great fear was felt that the selection of the clergy and the Holy See would fall on either of these popular prelates, both openly opposed to the political system of the Government in Ireland. Other prophets gave the Primacy to Dr. O'Reilly, then Professor of Theology in Maynooth, the most learned of the theologians of his time, and it was even stated that “the Norfolks, the Shrewsburys, and the Cliffords in England, and the Fingalls and Bellews in Ireland, have voices in such a case, to be heeded in the way of recommendation,” and that they and the Ministry were particularly anxious to secure the selection of Dr. Denvir, then Bishop of Down and Connor.

The *Times* was so far right in its anticipation that Dr. Dixon was returned by the clergy in Chapter assembled, as *Dignissimus*, with ninety-six votes, while the popular favorite—the Bishop of Meath—only obtained one vote. It was rumoured, however, at the time, and generally believed, that Dr. O'Hanlon, Professor at Maynooth, who was given the third place by the clergy, had the support of a majority of the Irish Hierarchy in his claims to the episcopacy. The Pope was at Gaeta, an exile from Rome, and necessarily in the disturbed state of ecclesiastical affairs, some delay occurred in obtaining the decision of the Pontiff. The See of Armagh had been six months vacant, when the rumour reached Ireland that the three ecclesiastics recommended by the Chapter of the Archdiocese would be passed over, and that the Pope was

about to send a Primate of his own selection to Ireland. It was openly insinuated that the Austrian government had used its influence in placing before the Sovereign Pontiff the views of the English Ministry, and impressing upon His Holiness the necessity of appointing a prelate favorable to the policy of England in Ireland, in order to secure the friendship of England to obtain the restoration of the Temporal Power of the Papacy, and that Pius the Ninth had acceded to the request of Austria in favor of England. When, by-and-bye, it was semi-officially announced that Dr. Cullen had been selected by the Holy See, the news came on the country by surprise, and in some quarters he was at first regarded as the nominee of diplomatic intriguers. The contrary was the fact—Dr. Cullen had only a few years before, as the agent of the Irish Bishops, been the instrument in destroying the pro-Anglican influence of Austria in Rome. The very anxiety of the English Ministry on the question of the Primacy defeated its object. Thanks to Dr. Cullen, the Holy See was in full possession of the state of the Church in Ireland, and of the educational designs of the Government. Only that very year it had been his duty to lay before the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda, the desire of the Irish Hierarchy for the foundation of a Catholic University, to counteract the “Godless Colleges” opened by the Government in 1845. Indeed, ever since the protest of clergy and people against the unfortunate “admonitory rescript,” Dr. Cullen, as the ecclesiastical ambassador of the Irish Church at Rome, had been engaged in the guardianship of the interests of Irish Catholicism against the influences of English diplomacy. To him it was chiefly due that Monsignor Barnabo was thoroughly *en rapport* with the state of parties, political and ecclesiastical, in Ireland, and that Pius the Ninth was fully impressed with the necessity of declaring open war against the anti-Catholic policy of the English statesmen. But who was to lead the warfare? In ordinary times—as an English journalist wrote at the time—an average officer suffices for the management of a parade; but when the battle rages, the general who can best direct the assault and mobilise his forces, is the man to lead. Clearly in the opinion of the Holy See, and of all competent judges at the time, Dr. Dixon—pious, learned, and estimable ecclesiastic as he was—fitted for the work of government under ordinary conditions, did not offer in his person the qualifications which the necessities of the warfare determined or demanded, for the simple reason that he was, as the *Times* had suggestively stated, “of quiet unostentatious habits.”

The period of conciliation had, however, passed, because the English Government, anxious as it was to use even the misfortunes of the Holy See to obtain its assistance in the government of Ireland, had steadfastly refused to conciliate Irish opinion. To have appointed either Dr. Cantwell or “John of Tuam” would have laid the Pope open to the charge of declaring in favor of the purely political aspirations of the Irish people, whereas his concern was for the independence of Irish Catholicism merely. But neither the Propaganda nor the Pope sought the advice of either England or Austria. Following the custom of the Holy See, the Pontiff applied to the three Archbishops in Ireland for their counsel. They were not, however, unanimous in the advice tendered. The Archbishop of Dublin, the venerable Dr. Murray, following precedent, recommended the nomination of the Chapter of Armagh; while with a strong appreciation of the situation, the Archbishop of Tuam and the Archbishop of Cashel, strongly advised the appointment of the Rector of the Irish College. Pius the Ninth had already thought of Monsignor Cullen for the Primacy, but Dr. Cullen himself besought the Sovereign Pontiff to leave him to his work in the College. How little he desired the succession to the See of Patrick, how reluctantly he accepted the commands of his spiritual chief, is well told by an impartial correspondent of the late Frederick Lucas, who had every means of gathering all the details of the negotiations, both at Rome and at Gaeta. He says—“I have just been informed by undoubted authority, that official intelligence from Naples has reached Rome this morning that His Holiness, Pius IX, has finally appointed the learned, the amiable, and pious Dr. Cullen to the vacant See of Armagh. I know also—from a sure source—that such an intelligence has filled the mind of this truly worthy priest with the deepest affliction. He had, in fact, latterly been hoping that the Holy Father would at length yield to his remonstrances and exempt him from a burden which he had within the last month so frequently refused, but for which every one but himself knows him to be competent. He was not even satisfied with simple refusals, but he sustained such refusals repeatedly—both by word and deed—by what seemed to him to be the most cogent reasons. But to all his

reasons, as well as to his reiterated entreaties and supplications, the Pope has remained inflexible. The communication received this morning from Naples announces his decision in so peremptory a way as to preclude all ground for future remonstrance. This news, which has filled the heart of the humble Dr. Cullen with anguish, cannot fail to fill the hearts of the Irish Hierarchy, clergy, and people with joy and exultation, for to few of them, indeed, are the virtues and learning of this worthy ecclesiastic unknown."

The importance attached by the Holy See to the departure made from the usual rule of selection, and the anxiety of the Holy Father himself, that the Irish priesthood and people should clearly appreciate the character and mission of the new Primate, are indicated in the eulogistic terms in which Monsignor Barnabo, the Secretary to the Propaganda, announced the decision of His Holiness in a letter to the Archbishop of Cashel. Writing on the 31st of December, 1849, he said—"As our Most Holy Lord has just filled up, with a new pastor, the long vacant See of Armagh, I thought it right to give Your Grace immediate information of it by sending you a Latin version of a letter to me from His Eminence the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda, dated 20th December. 'Yesterday—at Portici—I had an audience of our Most Holy Lord the Pope on some matters relating to the Propaganda, amongst which the most important was the appointing, at length, a worthy successor in the See of Armagh, to Bishop Crolly. Our Most Holy Father having duly weighed all particulars, and having taken into account whatever had been alleged on behalf of the two ecclesiastics, who otherwise are excellent both in piety and learning, judged, however,—that another should be chosen in whom are united all the most illustrious endowments, qualifying him for the right discharge of the office in question. This most excellent priest is the Rev. Paul Cullen, whose election all good men will joyfully receive, for the very high estimation in which he is justly held, both for probity and learning, and also by reason of the prudence and mildness of his character, there is good ground for hoping that he will very successfully fulfill the duties of his high office'. Thus far His Eminence, whose expressions I thought it right to transmit to you, that so the mind of the Holy Father himself might be made known also; nor indeed can I doubt that Your Grace and your colleagues will rejoice at the very happy ending of this business; and as the purpose of what has been done is mainly to cherish and strengthen episcopal unity, that you will give your best endeavour at length to bring about this result."

The feeling of the English speaking members of the Church, resident at Rome—and indeed, of all those with whom Dr. Cullen had been associated during his long residence in the Eternal City—is expressed in a letter written at the time, which says "The Congregation of the Index for the prohibition of books dangerous to Faith and Morals, will lose, at his departure from Rome, one of its most able, most enlightened, and most accredited consultors. I myself heard an ecclesiastic, who has many opportunities of knowing the feeling of the authorities here, declare that 'Rome could not evince its love for Ireland more than by sending them such a Primate, at so great a sacrifice.'" In the same spirit the appointment was received by the clergy and people in Ireland. Tributes to the new Primate came from the Catholic press. The *Tablet*, edited by Frederick Lucas—afterwards so bitterly opposed to the policy of the Papal Delegate—wrote—"We are persuaded that in his heart there is not one person in Ireland who can quarrel with the appointment of Dr. Cullen. We take upon ourselves to believe that for learning he has not his superior in the Irish Church. Dr. Cullen's personal demeanour, no less than his pious character, is peculiarly fitted to sooth, to conciliate, and to attract." His coming to take possession of the Primatial See was looked forward to with ominous expectancy by the people and their rulers alike, for it was well known that his arrival would inaugurate a new and decided attitude of the Catholic Hierarchy towards the policy of the Protestant state.

All the nationalities in communion with the Church combined to honour the new Prelate at his consecration, which was conducted in accordance with the most magnificent ecclesiastical ceremonial. Never, in its romantic history of centuries, did the church of St. Agatha of the Goths present such an imposing spectacle as on Sunday, the 24th of February, 1850. So anxious was Pius the Ninth to give *eclat* to the event, that he desired, if possible, to be himself present in Rome to speed the Irish Primate on his mission, and that Cardinal Franzoni should officiate as consecrating Prelate. Political complications, however, delayed the return of the exiled Pontiff, and the interests of the Church in Ireland called for the immediate presence of the Primate. All the Irish and English Catholics in Rome assembled to witness the ceremony; the

beautiful church was specially decorated ; the Swiss Guards of the Papal Household lined the edifice, and prelates and priests of all nations filled the sanctuary. Cardinal Castracani—Grand Penitentiary and Bishop of Præneste—was the consecrating Prelate, with the Most Rev. Carlo Luigi Morichini, (now Cardinal Morichini,) Archbishop of Nisibia, and the Right Rev. Dr. Hynes, Bishop of Lero and Vicar Apostolic of British Guiana—as assistants. Participating in the impressive ceremony were the Archbishop of Constantinople and Armenian Primate—Dr. Anthony Hassan, now Antonio Pietro IX, Patriarch of the Greek Rite ; Monsignor Misser, Archbishop (Greek Rite) of Irenopolis ; Monsignor Rosani, Bishop of Erythrea ; Monsignor Barnabo, Secretary of the Propaganda ; the heads of the Chapters, the members of the Pontifical Tribunals, the superiors and students of the Colleges of all nations, and a venerable and picturesque assembly of the religious orders—the Jesuits, Dominicans, Vincentians, Franciscans, Augustinians, and Benedictines. The students of the Irish College occupied the choir, and rendered the solemn music in the celebration, which raised their beloved Rector to the Archiepiscopal dignity. In these days of the Italian occupation of the Sacred City, no such solemn spectacle of the grandeur of religious ceremonial is ever witnessed in Rome.

On the very day of his consecration, Archbishop Cullen indicated the policy which he was coming to Ireland to inaugurate. From the suburban villa of the Irish College, outside Porta Sala, he addressed his flock for the first time. In this first episcopal utterance of his, he foresees clearly the difficulties before him. Giving prominence to the primary importance of Catholic education—but congratulating the Church in Ireland on the number of the Seminaries, Colleges, and Schools which had sprung up under circumstances of difficulty, with justifiable pride in the Catholic people whence he sprung, he declared, “Perhaps no great or powerful nation has expended out of its wealth such vast treasures as Ireland has supplied within the present century, out of its poverty, to promote religious and charitable objects.” He congratulated himself with the hope “that it would not only be a consolation, but a glory,” to exercise his Primatial functions among brethren who had been blessed by the Almighty with so many of his choicest gifts, and promises soon to take possession of the Apostolic See of Patrick. How thoroughly he appreciated the political and social condition of Ireland, is indicated by a direct reference to “those who, pretending to promote the interests of society, preach up sedition and licentiousness under the sacred name of Liberty, and impugn that subordination and respect to established authority that are prescribed in the Gospel for the welfare of every state.” This was his first declaration of war against secret societies, made ten years before the existence of a political conspiracy among the masses of the population, became publicly known. Equally plain and to the point was the first reference of the new Primate to the “Proselytising Movement,” perhaps one of the meanest and most insidious attempts at Protestant propagandism ever made. After this episcopal proclamation, the public desire to honour the new leader of the Church Militant was heightened, and the press teemed with various propositions for his reception. But perhaps the most magnificent tribute to the Archbishop was that paid by the Ministry which most feared his appointment. Only thirty years before, Paul Cullen—the son of a “rebel” who, according to English law, had earned the gallows—left Ireland a serf, possessing no rights of citizenship, and by his religion alone, marked out as among the enemies of law, order, and all that sort of thing. Coming back as the Most Rev. Paul Cullen, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of all Ireland, he was honored by the rulers of the State which made him a serf at his birth. As the announcement in the papers ran, “Directions were given by the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty’s Treasury to the Revenue authorities to afford every facility for landing the effects of the Roman Catholic Primate on his arrival in Ireland, and to dispense with the usual Customs’ examinations, &c.” Modestly, as became the unostentatious character of the man, the Primate landed in Ireland, too reverentially thankful for the transformation which had taken place in his absence, to feel jubilant. He arrived in Dublin on the first days of May, 1850, and after a brief stay at St. Vincent’s College, Castleknock, proceeded to Drogheda, where he was publicly received by the shepherds of his flock on the 13th of May, amidst unmistakeable rejoicing. His first ecclesiastical function in Ireland was to preside at the solemn offices of the Church for the eternal rest of his predecessor in the Primacy.

The procession of events in Ireland was, however, soon to present him again as the central figure of a spectacle, which, to him at least, must have been the apotheosis of emancipated Catholicism. The open attack on the educational policy of the Church, made by the foundation of the Queen’s Colleges, on the

principle of the exclusion of religion from the higher scholastic training, had provoked strong antagonism. The Government measure was accepted as a bold attempt by the State to take possession of the minds of the young men of the middle classes. Scholastic honours were still, by law and custom, denied to the youths of the popular faith, in what was called the "National University," as it was the fashion to name the institution founded for the education and bestowal of degrees on the youth of the English Pale. The Protestant State, which taught the Thirty-nine Articles in Trinity College, could not conscientiously undertake to teach "Popery" to the Irish outside the Pale, and therefore determined to give them a University training without any religion whatever. From the Ministerial standpoint, this was the *raison d'être* of the Queen's Colleges. The elimination of religion in education could not be accepted by the Hierarchy; but even they could not prevent the opening of the "Godless Colleges" by any means at their disposal. "John of Tuam" led the episcopal crusade against the Government Colleges, and at once destroyed any chance of their becoming popular institutions. It was useless, however, to denounce the evil without providing the antidote. So early as January, 1849, the Provincial Council of Tuam, under the presidency of the Archbishop, considered a recommendation from Rome to found a "Catholic University," and while determining to open subscriptions for the object, resolved to take no decided action until the matter had been brought before all the Bishops of Ireland. Subscriptions came pouring in, and Dr. Cullen, as agent of the Bishops, conveyed to Pius the Ninth the feeling of the Hierarchy. To complete the scheme of a Catholic University, and to re-organize the discipline of the Church in Ireland, were the chief purposes of the Pontiff in appointing the Primate the Apostolic Delegate of the Holy See, with powers to act and to determine the policy, on behalf of the Pope, in Ireland. And the summoning of the National Council of the Church at Thurles, was the first act of the Delegate.

The Synod opened in Thurles on the 22nd of August, 1850, and was preceded by a pastoral, eloquently summarising the position of the Church. Never perhaps since, seven hundred years before, the Papal Legate, Cardinal Papari, came to Ireland to the National Council of Kells, which divided the island into four archiepiscopal provinces, had an ecclesiastical assembly of such dignity, power, and authority, been held in the land, and perhaps never in the whole history of the Irish Church had such a magnificent ceremonial taken place. A procession, in which twenty-four bishops, the Abbot of the Trappists, the Provincials of the Jesuits, Dominicans, Vincentians, Franciscans, Carmelites, and Augustinians; the ablest theologians of the secular and regular clergy, in full ecclesiastical costume, wended its way from the College of Thurles to the Cathedral. There they received "Paul by the Grace of God, *Combharba* of St. Patrick, and Primate of all Ireland," and did homage to him as Legate of the Supreme Pontiff. Advancing to the high altar, the Primate recited the prayer, "Adsumus," and then, as seated on his throne, he was surrounded by the three Archbishops of Cashel, Tuam, and Dublin,—the spectator was able, in the words of a chronicler of the scene, to contrast the "mild serenity of Dr. Murray, the firm vigour and energy of Dr. McHale, and the zealous piety of Dr. Slattey," with "the calm, thoughtful, saintly suavity of Dr. Cullen." High Mass having been celebrated, and the Litany of the Saints sung in Latin, the Session of the Council was formally opened by a striking ceremony. First, the Primate, with his hands on the Gospel, recited aloud the Profession of Faith; and then each of the assembled prelates in turn knelt before him, and declared his belief in the doctrines taught by, and the authority of, the "Holy Roman, Catholic, and Apostolic Church." Outside the walls of the Cathedral, the faithful in Ireland had already offered their prayers for the assistance of the Holy Spirit in the deliberations of the saintly assembly. The outcome of these deliberations has already made a history in Irish Catholicism. The Council, by its decrees, in due time, solemnly ratified by the Supreme Pontiff, settled the policy of the Hierarchy, and the future organisation of the Church. Unreservedly the prelates condemned the "Queen's Colleges," and the attempts being made, under the cloak of charity, to proselytise the souls of the poor. They called upon the people to aid in the establishment of the Catholic University—exhorted them to renewed efforts in the cause of Charity—impressed upon them the necessity of securing the ministrations of religion to the pauperised poor in the workhouses—and proclaimed the approaching Jubilee. The authoritative pronouncement against the "Queen's Colleges," threw down the gauntlet to the Government and the Protestant ascendancy in the country. It provoked denunciation from English

politicians and the English Press. It even offended the susceptibilities of a section of English Catholics to such an extent, that a noble earl was said to have paid a special visit to Rome, for the purpose of inducing the Holy Father to refuse the ratification of the Fisherman's Seal to the decree of the National Council on the subject.

In spite of all the denunciations and antagonism, the Primate held to his mission, and frequent pastorals impressed the policy of the Hierarchy and the high duty of preserving the Faith against all outside influences on the people. The one great object of the far-seeing Primate was quickly obtained. The middle class Catholics supported him in an enthusiastic manner, and were by him compactly arranged against the interference of the State in any way with the religion of the nation. He did not forget the "secret societies." By a pastoral, issued in 1857, he condemned them, specially fulminating the censures of the Church against the Freemasons, who, in Ireland, closely allied to the Protestant ascendancy, had been making efforts to affiliate the educated members of the National Church. He directed his efforts zealously to bring the Church in Ireland, and its people, into close contact with the Holy See, and never lost an opportunity of inducing the people to manifest their attachment to the Sovereign Pontiff; and so it came to pass that Pius the Ninth came to prize Irish Catholicism as the brightest gem in his triple crown. When the Successor of Peter was threatened with spoliation, an army of Irish defenders, blessed by his Irish Legate, set forth to defend his patrimony, and shed their blood in guarding his temporal sanctuary. When, later, his patrimony was stolen from him, the Irish, out of their poverty, increased his store, and contributed lavishly to his needs; and to this day—thanks to the intensity of the filial attachment to the occupant of the Papal Chair, with which Dr. Cullen imbued the people—Ireland is foremost in her succour among English-speaking peoples. To the Holy See Ireland is a distinct Nationality. In 1852, the venerable Archbishop of Dublin died, and the impression which the Primate had made in his early tenure of the See of Armagh, was manifested by the unanimity of the clergy of the Metropolitan Archdiocese, in asking the Holy Father to send them Dr. Cullen as ruler. As Archbishop of Dublin, his public position became more prominent, and the difficulties of his mission crowded upon him. Discipline was lax, as was natural enough to a Church only just emerging from a condition of political servitude, and the first object of the new Archbishop of Dublin was to establish a rigid disciplinary law among the clergy.

In 1851 he had expressed his favourable opinion of the agitation for securing Tenant Right to the depressed farmers of Ireland—and had declared in a letter anent the Tenant v. League demonstration, held in Armagh, in January of that year—that he felt "most intensely the sufferings of the agricultural population." But, by-and-bye, the betrayal of the trust of the people by a section of the Parliamentary party formed for the advocacy of the Tenant Right claim, led to difficulties which placed the Prelate in antagonism to some of his countrymen. Accepting, as he did, the connection with England, Dr. Cullen saw no immorality in the acceptance of place by public politicians; but, as a Bishop, his ecclesiastical duty was clear enough in the condition of affairs which arose. The dissensions in the Tenant Right party—and the popular indignation against the members of it, who betrayed their promises—set priest against priest in politics, and often arrayed the people against their spiritual guides. Such a state of things was a scandal which the Archbishop resolved to suppress, and accordingly, in 1853, prohibited the clergy of his diocese from any further participation in public political movements. By some, this purely ecclesiastical decree was looked upon as an authoritative declaration against the popular party in the Tenant Right movement; and many of the more impetuous resisted it. Frederick Lucas denounced the action of the Archbishop in the *Tablet*, and a very strong public feeling was aroused. Totally misapprehending the discipline of the Church, Lucas went to Rome, to move the Holy See against spiritual authority, and felt aggrieved that he, a layman, had not been able to use some influence in a purely ecclesiastical affair. For the rest—the "party" was broken up—the honest men retired from politics in disgust, and the pious place-hunters became the servants of the Crown. Out of the despair created by such a signal failure, sprung conspiracy; and a few years revealed the existence of organised discontent against English rule in Ireland. Again, the attitude taken by the Archbishop of Dublin against the wide-spread political movement erroneously yclept "Fenianism," was a purely ecclesiastical one; though the vigour of his denunciations of the movement, coupled with their persistency, appeared to give some color

to the charge of political antipathy. As Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Cullen could have no concern with the maintenance of the English political connection; but as the Pastor of the people, it was certainly his duty to warn them against any enterprise which he considered immoral in its end or its means, or likely, through want of adequate chances of success, to entail suffering and persecution. Whether he rightly applied the censures of the Church against immoral secret societies to the Fenians or not, was an open theological question, which at the time created keen discussion among theologians. But in his position, the Archbishop was the interpreter of the law of the Church, as much as a judge in Equity is the interpreter of the law of the land. With his usual firmness against all obloquy, he pursued the course which he deemed the conscientious one, unstayed for a moment even by the knowledge that other eminent prelates differed from him in the application of the ecclesiastical law to the secret political movement. But there can be no doubt, that his action estranged from him for a time a great deal of popular sympathy, and thus lessened any political influence he might in future find it necessary to wield. This was evidenced by the failure of the "National Association," established to carry out the educational policy of the Hierarchy, and to obtain a settlement of the Land Question. Notwithstanding the public approval of the Archbishop, other influences were destined to complete the programme.

As the reward of the Archbishop's faithfulness, and of the devotion towards the Holy See which he had evoked in the popular soul, Pius the Ninth resolved that Ireland should be admitted to representation in the Supreme Parliament of the Church. He determined to confer on Archbishop Cullen the princely dignity of the Cardinalate. In the Consistory held on the 22nd of June, 1866, the Sovereign Pontiff announced his resolution; and it is evidence of the Irish longings of his nature, that the new Cardinal chose as his titular Church that of St. Peter in Montorio, where the ashes of the O'Neils and O'Donnells are enshrined. Notwithstanding Ireland's devotion to the Faith, Cardinal Cullen was the first Irishman holding episcopal office in Ireland, who was numbered among the ecclesiastical Princes of the Sacred College. Twice did Paul Cullen return to Rome, to give the universal Church the service of his learning and his faith. At the Great Council of 1854, he met again among the assembled Fathers of the Church many of his early companions at the Propaganda; and in 1869-70, his was the most eloquent advocacy of the doctrine of Infallibility, in that venerable assembly of over eleven hundred learned dignitaries. His was the mind which dictated, and his the hand that inscribed the formula conveying to the world the authoritative decision of the Church in the definition of Papal Infallibility. He never entered a Conclave—for it was his fate to arrive in Rome too late to participate in the election of Leo XIII. to the Apostolic Chair. But he was amongst the first to offer homage to the new Pontiff, none the less humble or thorough, because in the successor of Pius, he remembered the appreciative fellow-student of his early days in Rome. To Leo XIII. he presented the homage of Catholic Ireland, and through him the Pontiff expressed the feeling of admiration he held for the devotion of her people. To the new Pope he was able to bring a story of many triumphs for the Church. The last monument of Protestant ascendancy had disappeared—in the disestablishment of an alien Church; and the fruit of his labours in the cause of Catholic education was nearly ripe for plucking. The able statement which Cardinal Cullen had made before the Royal Commission in 1868, rendered it impossible that the subject of intermediate education of the people should be shelved. His return from Rome, in feeble health, after a long sojourn in his favourite Albano, on the hills overlooking the Campagna, was welcomed with the enactment which made it possible for the young Irish Catholic of moderate means to attain the highest educational culture; and almost his last utterance to the assembled bishops, only a few weeks before his call to eternity, was on the subject which had been almost the dearest to his soul. Throughout the stormy episodes of his career, the one distinguishing trait of his character was humility. Firm in the pursuit of his mission in the Church, he was personally the humblest of men. With all the greatness of his office, all the power of his position, by which he, without effort, destroyed a Ministry—that of Mr. Gladstone, in 1874, on the Education Question,—he was the most unostentatious of princes. Piety and Charity were to him every-day virtues; and in the simplicity of his daily life, the learning and the influence of the leader of the Hierarchy were almost hidden.

The very State, which so recently as 1851—made his title of Archbishop illegal, by Act of Parliament, courted his influence. The Viceroy of the Queen of England sought his presence at the Irish Court, but although Cardinal Cullen took the place which his position gave him in official society, he never allowed the respect paid to him as a Prince of the Church, by the representatives of the Government, to interfere with the attitude he had taken towards the State in the enforcement of Catholic claims. Nor did it for a moment impede the apostolic mission he had chosen in the organization of charity. He was more frequently to be found, encouraging students in the seminaries, aiding the poor by enlisting the sympathy of the wealthy on their behalf—consoling the afflicted by the erection of hospitals and homes, wherein the sufferers from all forms of physical misery found refuge and comfort. This was undoubtedly the noblest part of his life-work—and the institutions founded and fostered by him, remain his most eloquent monuments. How thoroughly he had imbued the middle classes with the true spirit of Catholic charity, was manifested by the almost magic rapidity with which edifices dedicated to religious purposes sprang up in his diocese, and by the large sums bequeathed to him for charitable purposes. As the representative of the Pontiff, Cardinal Franchi, one of the most illustrious of the statesmen of the Church, came to Ireland to bless the success of one of the Irish Cardinal's schemes for the advancement of religion—the diocesan College of Clonliffe. There were signs too of his coming more into accord with popular political sympathies, in his closing years, when the full meed of religious freedom was nearly completed. He gave his presence and the blessing of the Church to the popular Commemoration of the Centenary of Daniel O'Connell, and in January, 1878—when Charles McCarthy—a pious Catholic and an enthusiastic member of the political organization which the Cardinal had so severely condemned, died in Dublin, after his release from penal servitude, his body was allowed to rest before a consecrated altar, and priests and confraternities were permitted to chant the solemn offices of the Church for the departed, over his remains.

When, on the 23rd of October, 1878, the Inevitable Angel summoned him to his reward, he was ready for his journey to Eternity; and during his brief illness, ceased not to bless those around him, till at ten minutes to four on the afternoon of the 24th, his last breath was emitted in a prayer,—and his pure soul went to its rest. By his own desire, his ashes rest at Clonliffe, where his memory may be an inspiration to the students for the sacred ministry, whom he loved so well in life. His monument is the resuscitated Church of Ireland—the emancipated millions of his countrymen who, in their almost insatiable search after knowledge, hold the faith foremost—whose charity, in their poverty, succours the poor—the orphan and the afflicted; in the coherence of a people once divided, who, whatever may be their political destiny, form at least a devoted and distinctively Catholic Nation.



Maclure & Macdonald, Lith^{rs} London

Alex. Card. French

ORIGINAL

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CARDINAL FRANCHI.

No impression is so common among certain classes than the idea that the Papal Court is ordinarily composed of men of monastic habits, of narrow minds, and of incurable intolerance; who, for the interests of their order, conspire together to impose upon the world the authority and organization of the Catholic Church. The notion has been industriously disseminated that a certain set of "Ultramontane" families, noble in name and ignoble in character, without any defined right, have yet contrived for generations to supply the officials of the Papal Court, who—for their own ends of course, and irrespective of any care for the propagandism of Christian doctrine—govern the ecclesiastical system of Catholicism. Possibly three-fifths of the non-Catholic world regard the Papacy as the embodiment of this ancient mythical conspiracy against the Faith and Morals of the human race. And yet Civilization is indebted to the College of Cardinals—the counsellors of the Pope, the Executive Government of the Papacy—for a roll of distinguished statesmen and diplomatists, who have used vast influence for the progress of human society and the destiny of empires, and who have filled important places in modern history. In no other system of statesmanship have so many men of humble origin risen to historical eminence. The very system of recruiting the Sacred College ensures the selection of the highest ability in its members. The humblest monk in the cloister may aspire to the princely position of the Cardinalate, with as much chance of success as the noblest patrician who enters the service of the Church in the priesthood; and as a matter of fact, from the ranks of the Religious Orders have come some of the most illustrious Popes and many of the ablest Ministers of the Papal Court. By the operation of the same system, great Pontiffs and great Cardinals have emerged from the ranks of the secular clergy, without any respect to birth, country, or social condition. Chance has had little or nothing to do with the destiny of these men; they made their way to the post of Religious leadership or Papal statesmanship, through gradations of severe trial, sufficient to test the highest mental capacities and the strongest moral natures.

By such a process of prolonged ordeal, Allesandro Cardinal Franchi won the dignity to which he attained in the Church. He was born a member of the middle class, and, but for the system under whose influence he placed himself, might for ever have remained a man of great intellect, of remarkable character, but only one of the *Bourgeoisie*. His father was a Roman notary—a man of business in law. The family originally belonged to the village of Vico, in the country of the Sabines, and there, for a time, Allesandro's father had followed his profession. He had removed to Rome, however, before the birth of his son, and meeting with considerable success, had accumulated moderate wealth. A man of natural ability himself, he had cultivated a taste for the arts, and in his own way became a *dilletanti*, taking intense pleasure in the study of Italian literature, so rich in the best aids to culture; and enjoying, with Roman enthusiasm, the artistic atmosphere of his adopted city.

Allesandro was born on the 25th day of June, 1819, and in his early years was reported to be the handsomest lad in his neighbourhood. By his mother he was religiously educated, and in his father's office he acquired habits of precision, which indicated to Signor Franchi that his son might become a very successful notary, or even an advocate in the Papal Courts. With this view he sent him to the celebrated Roman Seminary, and while there, Allesandro determined to enter the priesthood. Young as he was, there were two sides to Allesandro's character. The gayest in disposition among his companions, as he was the handsomest in person, he was still one of the most serious in the pursuit of learning. Fascinating even then in his manner, tasteful in dress, and elegant in his tendencies, he seemed to give promise of becoming merely a man of society in the future; while really he was as methodical in his habits as his father, the notary. A boy with such a combination of qualities, naturally enough, secured the attention of his masters,

and Allesandro won the affection of Monsignor Bedini, the Rector of the Seminary. Monsignor Bedini seems to have marked out his pupil for high office in the future, and devoted himself to preparing him for the diplomatic service of the Holy See. Allesandro had rapidly acquired a sound knowledge of theology, had distinguished himself in philosophy, and made his mark in science, while still a mere stripling. He had a passion for political history, and the study of the literature of Italian art was his favorite pastime; nor did he neglect what are known as the accomplishments, for he was regarded as an artistic amateur of no ordinary promise. When Monsignor Bedini visited his friend Cardinal Lambruschini, the favorite pupil of his Seminary—Allesandro Franchi—frequently accompanied him. The Cardinal was attracted to the lively young student, delighted in testing his attainments, and admired above everything else in his character, his frankness and manliness. The youth charmed his distinguished host by his ability as a *raconteur*, and showed a marvellous aptitude in reading men, years his elders. At Cardinal Lambruschini's, Franchi, while yet a student, was brought into contact with a coterie of distinguished personages—many of the future statesmen of the Roman Sovereignty. He met there the official society of the Papal States. His accomplishments secured for him almost as much notice as his unmistakable natural talents; and before he entered into Holy Orders, or had finished his theologic studies, the frequenters of the Papal Court prophesied a distinguished career for him. On the feast of St. Louis—the Cardinal Secretary's Patron Saint—the usual festival of the Lambruschini household was celebrated by the recitation of a complimentary Latin Ode, composed and recited by Allesandro Franchi, in the presence of the Cardinal and his friends. At twenty-two years of age Franchi was the hero of the *Concursus*, and sustained his claim to the Doctor's cap with conspicuous ability and success. Admitted to Holy Orders, Cardinal Lambruschini gave him the comparatively humble post of writer in the office of the Secretary of Foreign Ecclesiastical Affairs; and no better training school could have been selected. Specially devoted to the supervision of the relations between the civil governments and the Church throughout the world, it has, since its institution, always been the nursery of the great statesmen of the Papacy.

Step by step Franchi advanced in the State Departments. From the office of Ecclesiastical Affairs he was transferred to the bureau of the Secretary of State, where he became Editor of the State papers, and Secretary to Cardinal Lambruschini. It was his duty to prepare or to revise all statements of Papal policy, the correspondence with foreign Courts, and the treaties between the Sovereign Pontiff and other rulers. After Cardinal Lambruschini's retirement from the Foreign Office, Franchi secured the confidence of his successors, for his position was equivalent to that of permanent Under Secretary of State. Through the attempts at popular Reform which might have regenerated Italy, but for the Revolution, and through the subsequent disasters, Monsignor Franchi faithfully served Pio Nono as he had loyally served Gregory XVI, and attracted the attention and the confidence of the Ministers of the new Pontiff by his conspicuous ability. To them he was indeed indispensable as the living record of the policy of the former Ministers and the late Pontiff. On his assuming the office of Secretary of State, Cardinal Antonelli found in Allesandro Franchi a valuable assistant, and in Rome they used to say that the accomplished Editor of the Minutes was the only possible rival of Pio Nono's favorite Minister. To Cardinal Antonelli, as much as to the personal affection of Pope Pius the Ninth, Monsignor Franchi was indebted for his employment as a diplomatist outside Rome.

Throughout his diplomatic career which commenced in 1853, it was Monsignor Franchi's good or evil fortune to be always arrayed against the Continental Revolutionists, who, in the name of Liberty, made war upon freedom of conscience and the independence of Catholicism. Spain—whatever had been her political faults—had always been tolerably faithful to the Holy See. The Spaniards prided themselves on being the Catholic nation of Europe *par excellence*. The Revolutionary Propaganda which had disturbed the Continent in 1848, found its way into Spain, and in its warfare against the Monarchy, declared open hostilities against Catholicism. Under the guise of reforming and widening the Constitution, the so-called Liberals of the Peninsula sought possession of that which by no conceivable right could belong to them—the property of the Church. Dynastic warfare had well nigh demoralised all sense of public right or individual liberty; and when Isabella ascended the throne, devoted as she was to the Sovereign Pontiff, but creature of party as she

then found herself, she had no power to resist the encroachments of her Ministers on sacerdotal freedom. One of the first acts of her premier Government had been the sequestration of ecclesiastical property. Confessing that the young Queen had done all she could in her circumstances for the defence of Religion, Pius the Ninth had, in 1851, concluded a Concordat with the Spanish Crown, by which it was agreed that the ecclesiastical property in Spain should be converted into funds, the State undertaking to provide adequate incomes to the hierarchy, the clergy, and the teachers. A certain period had been stipulated to permit of the favourable sale of the Church property. The Ministers proceeded to impose taxes on almost every incident of the process of realisation, and by a series of penal measures, embarrassed the Spanish hierarchy in the fulfilment of their share of the agreement. The Pope had frequently protested against the infringements of the Concordat—especially against the interference of the State in the purely ecclesiastical government of the Church,—outside the question of regulating the Church property. Every protest had been met with a fresh innovation, and there was every prospect of a complete rupture in the diplomatic relations between the Courts of Madrid and Rome, when, to endeavour to bring about, if possible, a *modus vivendi*, Monsignor Franchi was despatched to the Spanish capital.

By the Queen and the Court he was received with more than friendly courtesy, and soon established himself as the favourite of the Spanish nobility, and no figure was better known in Madrid society than that of the Papal Representative. His stately presence secured for him even the variable admiration of the populace. The Queen—who had never approved of the anti-religious policy of the Ministers—made Monsignor Franchi her confidant; and so potential was his influence at Court supposed to be, that the Revolutionists of every section soon openly denounced him as the centre and inspiration of all sorts of opposing political schemes. According to them, he was the secret agent of the Carlists, and the prime mover of the Montpensier party; while he was at the same time the private adviser of the reigning Monarch. Each was only too anxious to secure the aid of the Papal Minister, for all desired, above every thing, the support of the Spanish clergy in their projects. With the priesthood on their side, they were certain of the people—and therefore of success. The politicians who could not obtain the assistance of the Roman *Charge d' Affaires*, very naturally denounced him as the friend of their rivals.

The disappointment of the political factions at the refusal of the Roman Minister to aid their schemes found vent in disguised hostility to the Church; and it was fated that the ecclesiastical question should bring the contest between the Crown and those calling themselves Constitutionalists, to an issue. Since Monsignor Franchi's arrival in Madrid, he had witnessed a *Pronunciamiento* of an unequivocal character. On the ostensible question of the residence of the Queen-Mother at Court, a military revolt, headed and organized by General O'Donnell, had placed Espartero at the head of affairs. Towards the Queen, Espartero assumed the tone of a Military Dictator rather than that of a Constitutional Minister. He never won the esteem, nor possessed the confidence, of his Sovereign. Against her express commands, he continued the political warfare against the clergy, and in the Cortes found ready adherents to the policy of spoliation. While audaciously inciting the passions of the Revolutionary sections in the cities, Ministers were almost obsequious in their professions of goodwill to the Holy See and its Minister in Madrid. Early in the year 1855, the Pope had found it necessary to formally protest against the course of legislation aiming at the almost total abolition of the liberties of the Church and churchmen in Spain. The Spanish Ambassador in Rome was specially instructed to lay before the Sovereign Pontiff a lengthy explanation of the Ministerial policy, in which the Spanish Ministry complained that its zeal for Religion and devotion to the Holy See were misapprehended, and were not reciprocated. At home the Ministers manifested their "zeal and devotion," by pushing through Parliament a Bill for the wholesale appropriation of Church property, and the restriction of the individual freedom of the hierarchy and clergy. The Deputies, chosen under the Military Dictatorship, were on one side—that of the Ministers,—while the Catholic population outside Madrid, and a few of the other cities, were on the other—that of the clergy. Public opinion ran so high that the question assumed the proportions of a Continental problem, for the other Catholic States, whose city populations had been tainted by proletarian principles, watched with keen interest the progress of the contest between Rome and Madrid. The Queen resolutely refused to sign the new "Law of Spoliation." The

Papal Minister felt it his duty to inform Her Majesty that the passage of the law into practical operation would compel Pius IX. to break off diplomatic relations with the Catholic Sovereign, whom of "all European Royal personages he loved best." In a body the Ministers went to the Queen, and threatened their resignations, refused to be responsible for public order, and held before her view the certainty of another military revolt. Weeping bitterly, and vehemently protesting against the injustice of the proposed law and the barefaced coercion of the Queenly conscience, she signed the unjustifiable Act. Throughout the subsequent proceedings, the Pope and his Minister in Spain expressed the utmost sympathy with the unfortunate Sovereign, and steadfastly refused any recognition of the new law. It was impossible to continue diplomatic relations with a Government which, while professing a devotion to the principle of Liberty where the Protestant Sects were concerned, refused the exercise of Religious Freedom to the Church of the Spanish People, and openly violated the solemn agreements of the Concordat between the Holy See and the Spanish Crown. In a secret Consistory, held in July, 1855, Pius IX pronounced an Allocution condemning the proceedings of the Spanish Government, and Monsignor Franchi was instructed to demand his passport "in consequence of a series of acts offensive to Religion and to the Church, which have occurred in Spain." To the sorrow of the Sovereign, and the great joy of the Revolutionists—both Monarchical and Republican—the Papal Envoy returned to Rome.

In Italy, the Sardinian Monarchy, under the guidance of Cavour, was engaged in the same sort of anti-religious policy which the Spanish Ministers had found it expedient to pursue in furtherance of their selfish schemes. The way was being paved to the acquisition of the whole of Italy by the Piedmontese. "A Free Church in a Free State" was the Sardinian motto, which, translated into plain English from the insincere phraseology of Continental politicians, means "the Supremacy of the Civil Power over the Religious Conscience." Some of the Italian rulers thought it wise to compete with Sardinia in its encroachments on the Church, in order to baffle the designs of the Piedmontese Monarchy against the other Italian States. Amongst them was Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany, whose advisers seemed to regard the Church as a Department of the Tuscan civil service, and assumed the right of supervising the purely ecclesiastical action of the Tuscan episcopacy. Austria, whose influence had been paramount over the Bourbon Princes in Italy, full of domestic troubles, had weakened her control, and seemed unable to formulate any decisive policy in counteraction to the rising Revolution. In such a condition of affairs, endangering most of all, the highest interests of the Church, Pius IX determined to send Monsignor Franchi to Florence and Modena, to battle against the troubles which the Bourbon rulers seemed unable to meet with any firmness. Before sending him on his Mission, the Pontiff elevated his able Representative to the Archiepiscopal dignity, and himself, consecrated Monsignor Franchi in the Pauline Chapel on the 6th of July, 1856, as Archbishop of Thessalonica, *in Partibus Infidelium*, a similar honour being conferred at the same time upon another distinguished and high-born diplomatist of the Church—Cardinal Chigi. The ceremony was conducted with unusual splendour, and the affectionate remembrance of the Queen of Spain for Monsignor Franchi was testified by the magnificence of the gifts with which she honored him. Mitre, episcopal cross with chain of gold, ring, and crozier, all bejewelled with diamonds and pearls, were the gifts of the Spanish Queen to the Papal Envoy of a year ago. During the three years of Monsignor Franchi's mission to Florence and Modena, Cavour encountered no more astute opponent of his policy than the Inter-Nuncio. In the midst of Revolutionary intrigues, he was enabled to evoke popular sympathies in favour of the Pope, and when, in 1857, Pius IX made a "Triumphal progress" through portions of Italy, the enthusiastic ovations of the people of Tuscany were shared alike by the benign Pontiff and, in a hardly lesser degree, his able Representative. Two years afterwards the Grand Duke Leopold of Tuscany fled from his dominions, and the Inter-Nuncio, his mission ended, was recalled to Rome. Pius IX. could not recognise the "Military Protectorate" which, on the invitation of faithless Ministers, the Sardinians assumed. On his return to Rome, Archbishop Franchi was called upon to preside over the Department of Foreign Ecclesiastical Affairs, in which he had graduated in the service of the Holy See. In this Department for nine years, he directed the relations of the Church in Foreign States, and energetically opposed the encroachments of the Sardinian Monarchy on ecclesiastical liberty throughout the whole of Italy.

The disastrous fruits of Queen Isabella's unwilling acquiescence in the anti-religious policy of Spanish Statesmen had in twelve years ripened into open disaffection to her person and dynasty. The sentiments of affection between Isabella and the Sovereign Pontiff had suffered no diminution, and the misfortunes of the Holy See appeared to have resuscitated the chivalrous enthusiasm of Catholic Spain. In 1867 France, possibly anxious to repair the injury which the aid given by the Empire to the projects of the Sardinian Monarchy had inflicted on the Holy See, proposed a Conference of the Catholic States of Europe, for the purpose of guaranteeing to the Church the possession of the Patrimony of Peter. Spain was invited to the Conference, and the Spanish people had manifested their devotion by offering to supply an army of defence to co-operate with or replace the French troops in Rome. At the opening of the Cortes in December, 1867, Isabella announced in the Speech from the Throne, that her Government had offered to Napoleon III. "moral and material co-operation," in case it should be necessary to defend the lawful rights of the Pope, and advised Parliament to accept the invitation of France to the Conference. So hearty was the devotion of the Representatives of the people to the Visible Head of the Church, that the Deputies voted a paragraph in the Address to the Throne, which declared that "By her filial love towards the Holy Father, by the moral influence of her opinion, by her language and her vote, if the European Conference came to be realized, Spain must assume the post of honour and justice at the right hand of the Sovereign Pontiff who is the most august, the calmest, and most venerable figure of contemporary history."

So clear and almost defiant a declaration at once aroused the Revolutionary element, and threatened a renewal of the anti-religious agitation which had ended in the withdrawal of Monsignor Franchi from Madrid, in 1855. Monsignor Franchi was again early in 1868, sent to Spain as Nuncio, specially commissioned to thank the Queen and the Government for their sympathy, and was the bearer of that exceptional Papal gift to Catholic Sovereigns—the Golden Rose.

The policy shadowed forth by the Queen's Speech, and cordially adopted by the Cortes, exasperated the unknown leaders of the Revolutionary party. It was well known that the opinions of the middle classes and of the rural population were strongly on the side of the Government, which in its programme had frankly met all the crucial national questions. Gratuitous education was promised for the masses, without the imposition of new financial sacrifices; but that education was to be hallowed by the "influence of the purity of religious doctrine." With the full knowledge that the Revolutionists were actively and secretly at work, the Government had proclaimed a policy of resistance to their machinations, and called upon the Cortes to provide for the re-organization of the Administrative Departments. To have waited until the Government policy had been carried into effect by law, would have been to have thrown aside the last chance of successful revolt. The military leaders sworn to defend the Queen and Constitution, had already broken their oaths, and were acting in private conspiracy with the enemies of both. The army had been corrupted, and the officers of the navy had been demoralized. In July, rumours of intrigue against the Crown became rife; and, as if to test the fealty of her people, Isabella made a journey to the Basque Provinces, where she was received with demonstrations of unmistakable popularity. While the Queen was resting at the quiet bathing village of Lequitio, the Revolution broke out, and in consequence of the open desertion of both army and navy, the Government lost its authority. Courageous to the last, and acting on the advice of the Papal Nuncio, Isabella attempted to regain her capital: she was intercepted on the way, and, in order to escape capture, was compelled to seek a hurried refuge in France. With Marshal Serrano as Provisional President, the Revolutionists proceeded to declare their programme. Of course, they proclaimed "Religious Equality" and its usual accompaniments. In vindication of "Religious Freedom," they proceeded to despoil the churches, exile the Religious Orders, and to annex the funds subscribed by a charitable people for the relief of the poor through the Society of St. Vincent de Paul. In Barcelona, so exuberant was the feeling of "Religious Liberty," that it was deemed an offence against the law to publicly perform acts of Catholic worship. While it permitted its adherents to pilfer and persecute those devoted to the duties of religious ministrations, the Provisional Government was exceedingly anxious to obtain recognition from Rome. As was his duty, the Papal Nuncio received the Revolutionary Ministers, listened to their requests, but promised nothing. Even had the Government been regularly constituted, he could not countenance from a Republican Ministry acts which

were intolerable in a Monarchical Government; but, acting on the authority of the Cardinal Secretary of State, Antonelli, the Nuncio remained at his post, directing the resistance of the hierarchy and the Catholic people against the un-Christian policy of the Madrid Government. In order to procure the semblance of the public ratification of its right to existence, the Government called a Constituent Cortes together. In the then existing condition of affairs, a free election was, in almost every instance, impossible. The priests and the Catholic lay associations were threatened with penal punishments if they dared to exercise the ordinary rights of citizenship. These were luxuries reserved only for the Revolutionists and Irreligionists. The Nuncio was, however, a bold Ambassador. In spite of the threatened punishments, he induced the hierarchy and clergy to use their legitimate influence, unless prevented by actual force; and, as a consequence, when, in February, 1869, the new Cortes met, amongst its members were found some of the most eminent ecclesiastics in Spain. The new assembly was inundated by petitions and protests from Catholic organizations, representing a large majority of the people. With Saragossan courage, the ladies of the middle class, to the number of fifteen thousand, appended their names to a protest against the spoliation of the Church, enriched by their Christian charity. Only a few months before the assembling of the Cortes, the Minister of the Interior had prohibited all associations from acknowledging any dependence upon, or living in submission to, any authority established in a foreign country. In fact, Senor Sagasta—a Minister of a day—attempted, by a stroke of an impotent pen, to abolish the Faith of centuries in Spain. And this was the result: the faithful people, led by their outraged pastors, proclaimed all the more loudly their devotion to the Church of their fathers, and carried their protests against pagan Government into the very midst of their irreligious rulers. As was written at the time: “The people remained Catholic, when their governors ceased to be Christian.”

The influence which Archbishop Franchi exercised over the Spanish hierarchy and the leaders of Catholic society in Madrid, naturally enough made him the object of special hatred from the supporters of the Government. He had been instructed to remain at his post as long as his dignity and personal safety permitted. The continued refusal of Cardinal Antonelli to recognise Senor Posada Herrera as Spanish Ambassador at Rome, on the plea that he represented no defined form of Government, exasperated the Revolutionists against the Nuncio, who, in Madrid, declined any official recognition of the Government. And yet the Holy See was only acting in strict accordance with the policy of the other European States. While the Ambassadors of the other Governments were permitted to remain unmolested in Madrid—for the simple reason that any insult offered to them would have been punished by an armed force—the Representative of the Holy Father was publicly held up to contumely and hatred, because the Sovereign, whose Delegate he was, was powerless to resist outrage by armed legions. This was the courage of the Revolutionary politicians! At their instigation, crowds assembled before the Papal Embassy crying “*Muera Nuncio!*” and set his residence on fire. Monsignor Franchi, however, had taken refuge in another Embassy whither his chivalrous assailants dare not follow. The instigation of outrage on the clergy and religious associations seemed to become the chief implement of Governmental policy. Senor Zorilla went the length of issuing a decree, ordering the prelates to publish pastorals enjoining obedience to the Government of which he was a member. Thanks, however, to the inspiration of the Papal Nuncio, the hierarchy acted together in refusing submission to the ordinance. Throughout the exciting contest between the Government and the Church, the Nuncio remained in Madrid, endeavouring to counteract every attempt to dismantle the edifice of Faith, and opposing a fearless front to every attack upon the freedom of religious teaching. It has been charged against him that his mission failed, because for a time the Revolution succeeded. His mission was not to fight against forms of Government, but to protect the interests of the Church; and this he did so effectually, as to have aroused in Spain a religious fervour which became the surest guarantee against the perpetuation of an irreligious State. When, at last, he was recalled by Pope Pius IX, to assist His Holiness in the arrangements of the Æcumenical Council, a few months before its assemblage, a letter from the Nuncio to the bishops laid down a boldly defined line of policy towards the temporary governors of the Catholic people of Spain.

The perfection of the organization of the Vatican Council was in a great measure due to the intimate knowledge which Archbishop Franchi had acquired of the affairs of the Church all over the world. He was the constant counsellor of the Venerable Pontiff, and throughout the deliberations of the august assembly

never wavered in his support of the expediency of pronouncing the dogma of Papal Infallibility. It was his misfortune to see the sanctuary of the Church invaded by the Sardinian soldiery, and to follow his illustrious master to his seclusion in the Vatican, whence he emerged in 1871, to fulfil another important diplomatic mission. He went as Ambassador Extraordinary from the Vicar of Christ to the successor of Mahomet. Among the questions which had long occupied the Department of Foreign Ecclesiastical Affairs, was that of the organization of the Armenian Church, frequently disturbed by Russian intrigue, Greek ambition, and Ottoman imbecility. Acting on the petition of the Armenian clergy and notables, Pius IX. had, by the bull "Reversus," promulgated a cononical scheme for the government of the Armenian Church. For over thirty years the Government of the Sultans had recognised the venerable Monsignor Hassoun as the ecclesiastical chief of the Armenian Catholics. On the publication of the bull "Reversus," however, which laid down rules for the election of the Armenian Patriarch and bishops, the Russian agents industriously promulgated, amongst a section of the Armenian clergy, the idea that Rome was encroaching on the ancient discipline of the Armenian Church; jointly with this, the notion was disseminated that the Armenians were not canonically bound to accept the Supremacy of the Roman Pontiff. The plain object was the promotion of a union of the Armenian Catholics with the Russo-Greek Church. The Holy See had never given any countenance to the Russian propagation of disaffection among the subjects of the Sultan, and up to this period the Armenian Catholics had taken no part in the furtherance of Muscovite designs. The complete Supremacy of the Chair of Peter over the Armenian Christians had been placed beyond dispute by the action of the future schismatics themselves. Before the Congregation of Oriental Rites, their delegates had stated their views on the question of re-organization. At the Œcumenical Council, some of the prelates who afterwards placed themselves under the censure of the Church, were among the most enthusiastic adherents of the doctrine of Infallibility. On their return to their sees, three of these prelates refused to acknowledge the authority of the Patriarch. Instigated by Russian intrigue, and encouraged by the Bulgarian element at the Court of the Sultan, a section of the Armenian clergy elected a rival Patriarch. The legitimate clergy were evicted from their churches, and the Ministers of Abdul-Aziz refused to recognise the authority of Archbishop Hassoun as Latin Patriarch of Constantinople. The French Ambassador, after the fall of the Empire, no longer lent his active aid or protection to the Christians of Turkey, and there were valid reasons for believing that he secretly promoted the Russian designs. Under these circumstances, Archbishop Franchi was sent to Constantinople as Envoy Extraordinary from the Holy See to the Sultan, for the purpose of procuring a formal recognition, by the Sublime Porte, of the rights of the Armenian Catholics.

By the Sultan and his Ministers, the Papal Ambassador was received with unwonted Oriental magnificence. Personally, the Sultan was in favour of the proposals submitted by Monsignor Franchi, who, by his frank persuasiveness and diplomatic astuteness, was able—for the time—to baffle the combined intrigues of Russian and Greek. So favourably had his mission been received, that the preliminaries of an agreement, providing a full recognition of the orthodox Patriarch, had been already arranged; and the Sultan, styling himself "Lord of the Empire of Prosperity," addressed an effusively friendly letter to "The Dignity of the Most Majestic, Most Noble, and Most Beloved Pius IX," offering His Holiness sincere respect and friendship. Unfortunately, however, just as the negotiations were approaching completion, Aali Pasha died, and was succeeded by Ministers only too ready to play into the hands of the Russian intriguants. After Archbishop Franchi's return to Rome, the persecutions of the orthodox Catholics recommenced with such virulence, that the Patriarch himself was exiled from Constantinople, to seek refuge in Rome, while the schismatic rulers usurped his see.

In 1873 Monsignor Franchi received the crowning reward of his faithful services, when, on the 27th of December, he was created Cardinal, under the distinguished title of Santa Maria in Trastevere, to the restoration of which edifice Pius IX. devoted particular attention. In 1874 he was elevated to—probably the most distinguished position in the Church next to the Supreme Pontificate—the Prefect-Generalship of the Propaganda. In this position he exercised control over the vast missionary organization of the Church throughout the world, and for four years remained by the side of Pius IX., his most capable assistant and most trusted adviser in the government of the Catholic world. Only once did he leave the duties of his high

office, to pay a hurried visit, almost *incognito*, to Great Britain, to represent the Holy Father at the opening of Clonliffe College; and outrunning the brief time he allowed to himself, he made personal friends among the English and Irish hierarchies, and left agreeable souvenirs of his charm of manner and perfect acquaintance with the affairs of the Church behind him. In Roman society, he was a prominent and popular figure—the *Grand Seigneur* among the ecclesiastical princes. Beloved by the poor for his charity; by the rich for his courtliness and high culture; respected by all—enemies and friends alike—for his splendid talents and marvellous knowledge of men; honoured by his colleagues in the Sacred College for his personal piety and chivalrous devotion to the Church,—it was not wonderful that, when the illustrious Pius IX. passed to his rest, public opinion singled out Cardinal Franchi as amongst the Cardinals most likely to succeed to the Pontificate. Rome, and the journals outside Rome, were full of anecdotes illustrative of his character and career; of his astuteness and *bonhomie*; his learning, wit, and genius for government. To his courageous advocacy was partially due the determination to hold the Conclave in Rome; and though himself second favourite in the Sacred Electoral Council, he gave his hearty influence to the candidature of Cardinal Pecci. When the new Pontiff selected Cardinal Franchi—the most distinguished diplomatist of the Papacy—as Pontifical Secretary of State, the appointment was received with general approval by the advocates of compromise with the political enemies of the Papacy. Cardinal Franchi was hailed as the apostle of the “Party of Conciliation,” invented for the time by those who desired the surrender of the temporal rights of the Popes. The Cardinal-Secretary, in his first manifesto, however, dissipated these pusillanimous illusions.

In an uncompromising tone he asserted the rights, while deploring the sufferings, of the Holy See. From the fifth day of March, 1878, when he entered formally on his duties as Chief Minister of Pope Leo XIII, up to the last days of July, when he was summoned from the world, his whole mind was directed to the mobilization of the forces of the Church against its enemies. In Italy he found that the inaction of the faithful Catholic citizens allowed the anti-Catholic statesmen free scope and unfettered liberty in their warfare against the national recognition of the Catholic faith and their encroachments on Catholic liberty; and immediately he set his astute mind to work to rally the faithful, and teach them how to use the weapons of the enemy against himself. In Germany, his statesmanship stepped in to counteract the Bismarckian policy by suggesting a plan, which, without lessening the rights of the State, would fully protect the liberty of the Church, and so far succeeded, that he induced the modern Saul to at least halt in his career of persecution, and snatch at the chance of retreat. Almost at the initiation of his great policy of combatting the enemies of the Church at every point of vantage, by every moral means of defence, he was seized with his last illness, and, in a few days, succumbed. He died on the 31st of July, 1878, in the midst of his work, surrounded by friends who loved him, chief among whom was the sorrowing Pontiff who had given the interests of the Church to his able guardianship. But though called by his Creator in the prime of life, he leaves his mark firmly imprinted in the policy of the Church. In his brief tenure of the high office which he surrendered in death, he had breathed a new soul into the ranks of the faithful, amongst whom, in the memory of Allesandro Franchi, lives a model of how cultured ability, courage, astuteness, chivalrous devotion, and unostentatious piety, in the midst of worldly greatness, can combine in the service of Religion and the highest moral interests of Civilised Society.



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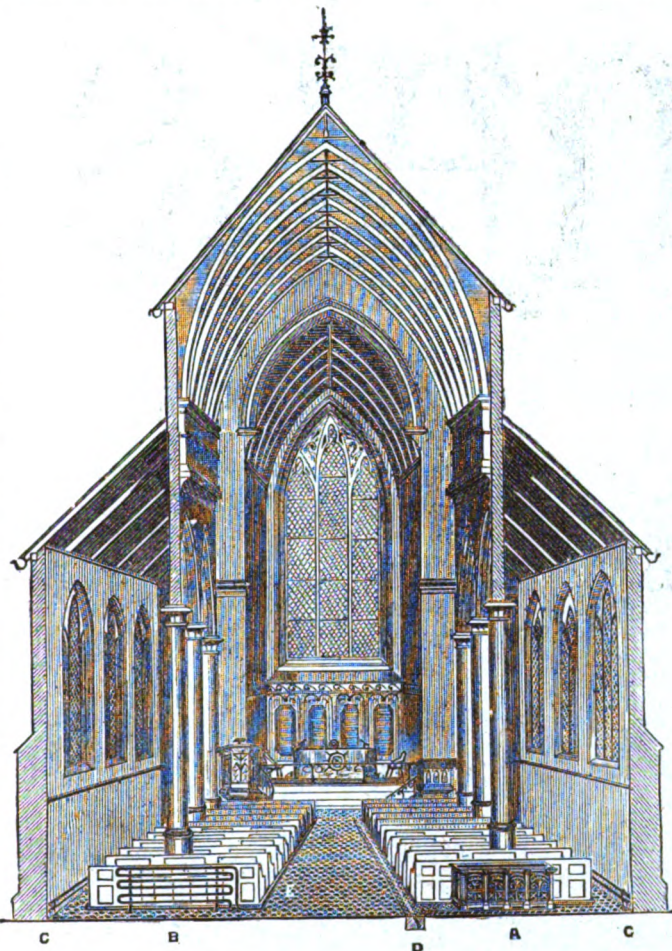
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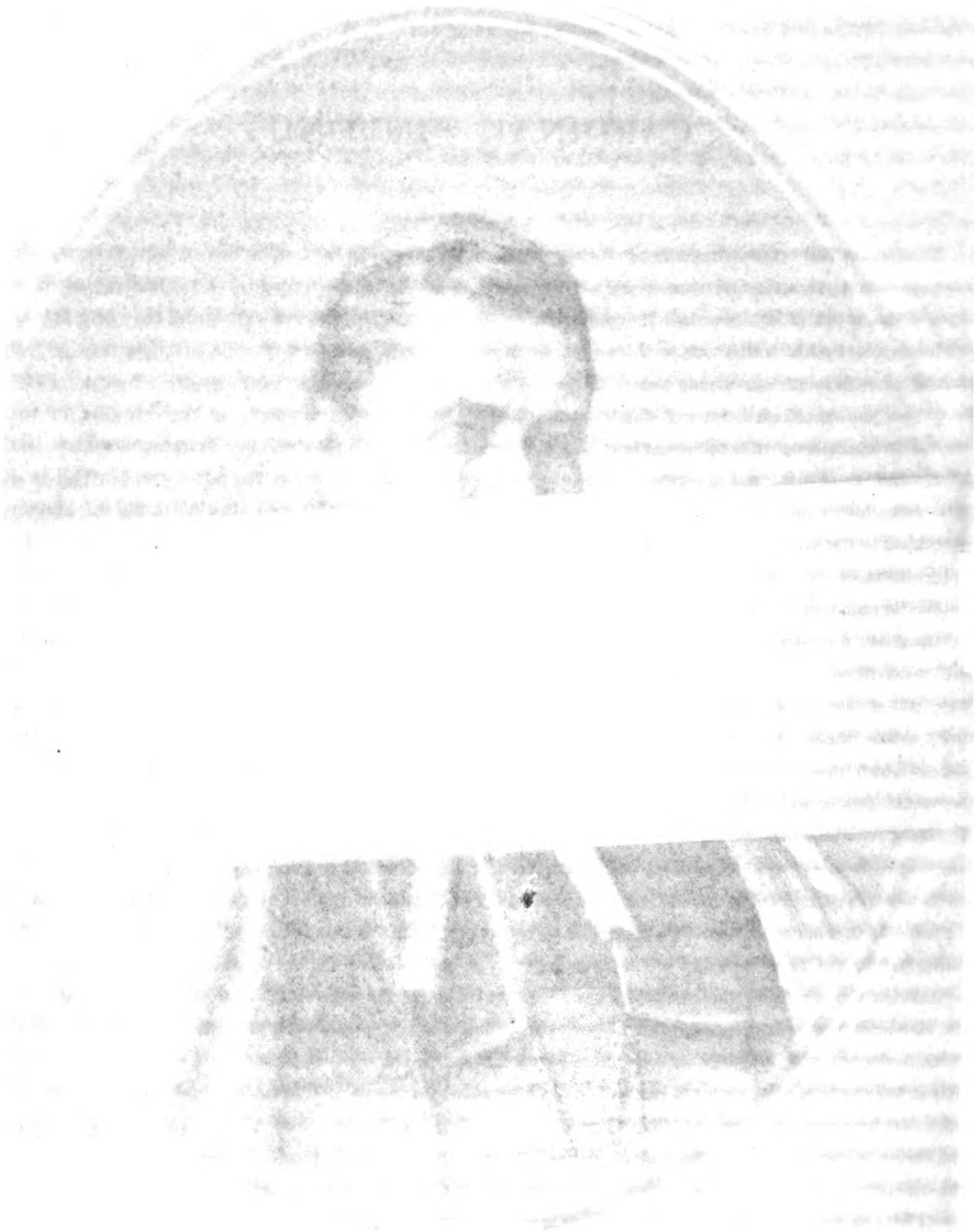
Giovanni Card. Simeoni

CARDINAL

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THE JUNE NUMBER
OF
"LIVES OF THE CARDINALS"
WILL CONTAIN A
Portrait and Life of CARDINAL NEWMAN.

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CARDINAL SIMEONI.

Protestant and other writers outside the communion of Catholicism have marvelled at, without being able to comprehend, the unity and consistency of the power exercised by the Church over the human soul in all parts of the world, at all times since the foundation of the Christian religion, and few of them have been able to see the means by which that power is simply and directly brought into contact with, and influence over, all manner of men in all the varying phases of human life and all the complex circumstances of human society. That the unsophisticated savage should obey the Pope of Rome as implicitly as the members of the oldest European races; that he should have precisely the same ideas of moral life, obey the same moral law, and understand as clearly, and accept as reverently the same spiritual revelation, is one of the psychological problems which have hitherto baffled the philosophers. That the naked Ethiopian should worship the Author of all Life in the same form, and with the same sense of dependence, in obedience to the same authority, as the crowned emperor of the oldest European dynasty, is one of the marvels of the history of Christian progress which the mundane mind can hardly realise. It was equally wonderful, eighteen hundred years ago, that the uneducated fishermen of Galilee should wander up and down the world, among the civilised and uncivilised, teaching a new faith and teaching it in many tongues; that Peter, the ignorant Jew of a few years before, should speak to the Roman patricians in their own rich language and teach them the strange doctrine whose memorials are shrined in the Catacombs. The power which they used, the influence which they exercised over mankind is to the Catholic mind but the same power and influence which, to a much wider and larger extent, are wielded to-day by the great dignitary who occupies the Chair of the Fisherman in Rome. He speaks, and his words are heard in many languages, by every race of mankind, and obeyed by all; and obeyed, not as the mandates of the rulers of the earth are obeyed, as a tribute to the power of organised force, but as an acknowledgment of the Divine origin of Catholic faith, a manifestation of the universal acceptance of the one creed of Charity, the one hope of Eternity, embodied for the time being in the Roman Pontiff. It has survived the combinations of peoples and the organised force of princes, the conspiracies of the politicians, and the arms of the aggressor. It has withstood the vicissitudes of every possible form of persecution, and has never been suppressed, though often despoiled. It has brought ambitious kings on their knees before its representative in penitence and in awe, at the same time that it has received the homage of the millions in love and in reverence. Stripped of its worldly insignia, it still rules over an empire of mind growing in numbers, extending now, literally, from end to end of the earth. From the shrine of the Fisherman whose blood watered the garden of Christianity, the Prisoner of the Vatican rules the consciences of men more potentially and more lovingly than any potentate in the world.

The testimony of Macaulay, which was but the testimony of the more hostile historian Von Ranke, before him, is even more forcibly true now than it was when written forty years ago. "The Catholic Church is still sending forth to the farthest ends of the world missionaries as zealous as those who landed in Kent with Augustine, and still confronting hostile kings with the same spirit with which she confronted Attila. The number of her children is greater than in any former age." And the number is increasing with the years. Each Pontificate counts an extension of the spiritual dominion of the Church. New peoples find the Faith and the nations of the future are brought within the circle of civilisation by the Successor of S. Peter. The first centre whence the propagation of the Christian Faith proceeded was found in Judea. But with the advent of Peter to Rome, the centre of Christian authority, the mission to go forth and teach all nations was transferred with providential appropriateness to the seat of empire itself. The

tongues of fire burned round the very throne of Cæsar, and in setting light to the funereal pyre of the pagan deities, illuminated the earth with the glory of the Christ-God. From the secret sanctuaries of the early Christian Church the first missionaries went forth, and age after age the Pontiffs, amid all the turmoils of the civilised States of Europe, found time to direct the preaching of the Gospel among men of the remotest lands. Decade by decade, and century by century, the subjects of the See of Peter grew in numbers and in strength, until barbarism disappeared from Europe, and Christianity was the faith of rulers and of ruled. With the growth of Christianity the organisation for its propagation sprang into existence, and at last came into being one of the most powerful organisations of the age in the creation of the Propaganda. The man who rules the Propaganda, it has been said, rules the conscience of the Christian world, and enjoys a greater power than any temporal ruler. The man who rules the Propaganda to-day, the successor of a list of illustrious names, is Cardinal Giovanni Simeoni.

Giovanni Simeoni, who directs as Prefect of the Propaganda the execution of the command to "teach all nations," is in his own career an illustration of the truism perpetually peeping out in the history of the Church, that the ways of God are not as those of men. Wielding a power over the human mind which emperors claim in vain and have never obtained, he boasts no long line of distinguished ancestors to give him title to any important position in the government of his fellow creatures. Though no blue blood courses through his veins, he was, from the earliest years of his eventful life, the associate of princes of the noblest and proudest race, which has filled with its deeds the most stirring periods of Italian history. His father was the administrator of the estates of the princely family of Colonna, when Giovanni, one of a numerous family, came into the world at Paliano, in the Pontifical States, on the 22nd of July, 1816. Simeoni the elder held, after the fashion of Italy, the title of Minister to the Princes Colonna; but by the peasants, over whom he exercised an authority almost feudal in its character, he was known as the Vice-Prince. Though for a generation the Colonnas had ceased to figure in the hierarchy of the Church, for at least eight centuries their history had been interwoven with the vicissitudes of the Papacy. Through them young Giovanni Simeoni was from his infancy brought into contact with some of the most stirring traditions of Rome and most eventful episodes in the history of the Roman See. His early companions inherited the names and the dignities of a family which has done more than any other in Italy to shape the history of the Eternal City.

Warriors, poets, and priests, statesmen and politicians, the Colonnas have shared in the triumphs as well as in the tribulations of the Papacy, sometimes being the direct cause of both. No less than twenty Colonnas have been successively members of the Sacred College, and one of them, as Pope Martin V., presided over the destinies of the Universal Church in the trying period of the earlier portion of the fifteenth century. Two centuries before a Colonna ascended the Pontifical throne, the first ecclesiastical prince of the race and entered the Sacred College. Cardinal Giovanni Colonna was, in more senses than one, a member of the Church Militant. Created Cardinal in 1216 by Pope Honorius III., he was appointed Legate to the Christian army of John, King at Jerusalem. He could wield the sword as well as the pastoral staff, and led the Christian hosts as one of the military chiefs at the siege of Damietta. The first Cardinal Colonna was evidently endowed with all the belligerent intrepidity and intensity of his race, for he was so prominent in the fight that although the Christian soldiers were victors, their priest-leader became a prisoner of the Saracens. The romantic chronicles of the Crusades have much that is marvellous to tell of his captivity, and all that they have to tell testifies to the maintenance of the same courage in defeat which called him to the foremost place in action. He was condemned by his captors to be quartered alive. Preparations for the execution of the sentence were made, and the Saracen chiefs and soldiery surrounded him to witness the dismemberment of the Christian priest-soldier. His stoical calmness, however, and the perfect resignation and Christian faith with which he came to his doom, so won the admiration of his captors that they bade him go free at the last moment, and the chroniclers say that he brought back with him to Rome from the Holy Land the veritable pillar at which Christ was scourged, and which is still preserved at the ancient Church of S. Praxides.

In 1278, another Colonna, Giacomo, was called to the Cardinalate by Pope Nicholas III. The second Cardinal Colonna was credited in the popular estimation with the full measure of ambition which has made the princes of his family the most prominent figures in the Italian chronicles of the four succeeding centuries. He

enjoyed the favour of three Popes, and occupied conspicuous positions in the Roman Curia. The prominence in the political projects of the times which had been obtained by his relatives gave rise to the belief that Cardinal Colonna desired to secure the Chair of Peter for himself, and his enemies industriously circulated the rumour that he had connived at the sudden, but, as it was afterwards proved, the natural death of Pope Nicholas IV. It was one of the trials of the Church in those ages that the powerful families of Italy contended among themselves for dominion over civilised mankind through the Papacy. The Orsinis and the Colonnas, the most powerful of the Roman princes, setting no limit to their ambition, sought openly for the power to rule the souls as well as the bodies of the Christian people, and the Fathers of the Church, in selecting the Successor of S. Peter, were frequently compelled to choose the Chief of Christianity amidst the din of arms. Nicholas IV. had himself been chosen amidst unusual difficulties. The Cardinals met in the middle of a Roman summer; six of them died during the Conclave, which was adjourned, while the Cardinal-Bishop of Palestrina remained at his post in the Chamber of Conclave for ten months, continually burning fires to purify the malarious airs to which his colleagues had fallen victims. When the Cardinals reassembled this faithful one amongst them was elected to the Supreme Pontificate, and assumed the title of Celestine V., now known in the Calendar of the Church as S. Celestine. It is said that Cardinal Colonna, who was a member of the Conclave, opposed his election.

The saintly Pope was utterly unfitted for the government of the Church in the troublous period at which he ascended the Papal throne. The potentates of Europe were conspiring with the Roman princes against the independence of the Church, and the Colonnas had entered into alliance with the most powerful enemies of the Papacy. Celestine was an anchorite of anchorites, and erected for himself in the Papal Palace a cell where he spent the few months of his brief Pontificate in mortification and prayer. As one of the ablest ecclesiastical historians has written, the Church had found for its chief "an angel, but it was a man who was wanted." Five months after his election Celestine, having consulted the most learned of the Cardinals in Consistory, on the 13th of December, 1294, announced his abdication of the Supreme Pontificate, divested himself of the Papal insignia, and clothing himself again in his monk's habit, bade farewell to the princes who surrounded him, and retired to his cell at Murrone. With the election of his successor, Boniface VIII., commenced one of the most memorable Pontificates in the whole history of Christianity, in which the Colonnas brought sacrilegious tribulation upon the Church and dishonour upon their princely name. Boniface, whose reputation as Cardinal Caetani was great throughout Christendom, seemed providentially chosen to rule in the storm which had risen around the bark of Peter. At seventy-seven years of age he determined to suppress the cabals of the Italian princes; to counteract the conspiracies of European potentates, and to extricate the Church from the deadly influences of worldly ambitions which impeded its mission amongst men. On the very steps of the Pontifical throne impediments barred his way to the Chair of St. Peter. The Colonnas well knew what manner of man he was, of whom the poet Petrarch afterwards wrote: "Ita inexorabilem quem armis frangere difficillimum; humilitate et blanditiis flectere impossibile." The force of arms could not indeed easily break his will, and he was inflexible both to flattery and simulated submission. Another of the family, Pietro, nephew of Cardinal Giacomo, had been elevated to the Sacred College and both had opposed the election of Boniface VIII. The Cardinals of the Conclave rose, as they have always done in the difficulties of the Holy See, to the needs of the situation, and opposing all idea of family influence, placed Cardinal Caetani in the throne vacated by Celestine, simply because they recognised in him a ruler of men imbued with the Apostolic spirit, inflexible of will and almost audacious in the quality of courage.

The people of Rome, sick of the princely quarrels, in which they were the chief sufferers, hailed the election of Boniface with enthusiasm, and saw in the new Pontiff a deliverer from the internecine warfare which had desolated the States of the Church. He entered on the work of deliverance as a mediator, and the first year of his Pontificate was spent in effecting reconciliations between the Italian princes, and with apparent success. The truce was of very brief duration, and the ambitions of the Colonnas were instigating causes in the revival of hostilities. They set up a theory that a Pope could not abdicate; that Celestine was, therefore, still Head of the Church, and Boniface consequently an intruder in the Papal Chair. They even issued a proclamation, and affixed it to the door of the Papal Palace, protesting against the authority of the new Pope. Political intriguers endeavoured to impress Celestine with the idea that his abdication was invalid, and that for

the peace of the Church it was his duty to oppose the exercise of spiritual authority by his successor. To counteract the schemes of the enemies of the Holy See, within and outside the Church, the hermit Celestine was placed in honourable confinement. On the pretence of liberating him, the Colonna Princes rose in open rebellion to the Papal sovereignty, and obtained the friendly alliance of Frederick of Sicily. Stephen Colonna, favoured by his relatives in the Sacred College, openly attacked the Pope's household as its members were journeying from Anagni to Rome, and took possession of the Papal treasures which were being borne to the Eternal City. Frederick of Sicily had arranged to make an armed descent on the States of the Church, and thus deprive the Pontiff of the Patrimony of Peter.

Boniface, who had been fully informed of the intrigues against him, summoned Stephen Colonna to surrender the fortified cities in his possession, and called upon the two Cardinals to return to their allegiance. Their refusal, and the continued revolt of their relatives brought down upon them the anathemas of the Church, and at last in solemn Consistory the Pontiff was compelled to promulgate a bull in which he deprived them of their dignities and revenues. The words of the inflexible Boniface in promulgating the terrible decree were touching in their fatherly tenderness. He reminded the Cardinals that they had obeyed him as Pope; participated with him in the Holy Sacrament; assisted him in the solemn Sacrifice of the Mass; and had been united with him in the proclamation of the Papal decrees. The Colonnas were thus the originators of the curious spectacle in the history of the Church of the "unfrocking" of two of its ecclesiastical princes. Excommunicated from communion with the faithful, a speedy vengeance fell upon the rebel leaders, and they were compelled to seek refuge in France, where their intrigues paved the way for the exile to Avignon. Another Cardinal Colonna—Pompey—followed the evil precedent of the enemies of Boniface, by withstanding the authority of Adrian VI., who, imitating the victor of Palestrina almost to the letter, deprived the contumacious Cardinal of his dignities. Cardinal Pompey, however, who inherited the warlike spirit of his race, made noble amends, by delivering the Pontiff who had stripped him from the hands of the Constable de Bourbon. Another Cardinal of the name—Mark Antony—had the advantage of studying under Padre Montalto—famous in the story of the Papacy as Sixtus V. With varying degrees of fealty, throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries up to the close of the last century, when the last Cardinal of the family was called to the Senate of the Universal Church, the Colonnas continued to give distinguished service or untoward trouble to the Sovereign-Pontiff, and even now stand at the head of the unordained section of the Pontifical family. The Prince Colonna is still Hereditary Prince-Assistant at the Pontifical Throne.

Association with the heirs of such historical traditions was of itself an education for the career for which Giovanni Simeoni was destined, though, as it happened, it procured for him no promotion whatever in the ecclesiastical life. In his time there was no powerful Prince-Cardinal of the Colonnas near the Papal throne, and happily for the Church, the period had long passed when family influences or dynastic ambitions were of any avail in the Papal Court. Giovanni studied with the young princes in preparing for the priesthood, and went through the usual curriculum of the Roman seminaries. He took his degrees of philosophy and theology at the Roman College, and received his degree of doctor—*ad honorum*—in civil and canonical law from the Roman University. After his ordination as priest he did not obtain any benefice, though one would have thought the influence of the Colonnas would have at once placed him on the way to high ecclesiastical promotion. He became tutor to the Princes Colonna, lived at their palaces, and associated with all the gay society frequenting their salons. It was there, long before either of them dreamt of the high dignities awaiting them in the Church, he met with Count Giovanni Mastai Feretti, and formed a friendship which lasted until the end of the most memorable Pontificate of the Church. A frequent visitor at the Papal Court, whither he accompanied the Princes Colonna, he failed to impress the reigning Pontiff, Gregory XVI., in his favour.

It was not till Pius IX. ascended the Papal throne that Padre Simeoni entered the service of the Holy See, and had Simeoni himself been the director of his own career he would have elected to have remained in some unostentatious position near the person of the illustrious Pontiff, to whom he always remained the simple priest of his earlier days, and for whom his affection was almost measureless. Simeoni, considering his opportunities, was the least ambitious of ecclesiastics. He had the rare faculty of evoking

personal affection in all with whom he came in contact, but his natural timidity and habits of retirement concealed from everyone, except his intimates, his intellectual gifts and solid scholastic acquirements. He would have been perfectly content to have remained a priest, and only a priest, to the end of his days. His first employments in the service of the Holy See were of a character altogether in accord with his own tastes. As Secretary of the Roman University and member of the Papal prelatore, he had possessed all the dignity he could desiderate, and an occupation which employed him in the work for which he had always seemed specially fitted—the training of the teachers of the Faith and the ministers of the Sanctuary. His mind was a storehouse of canon law and liturgical literature, and, without ever attempting to attain it, he had, while a member of the Theological Academy, secured a high reputation amongst the most learned ecclesiastics of Rome. Professors and students sought him with equal freedom to take counsel on their studies and draw upon his rich store of information in ecclesiastical jurisprudence and the fine gradations of the science of theology. There was a charm about his modest courtesy which commanded a strong personal devotion, as well as high admiration, from those who knew him. In those days the poor of Rome who hung about the Piazza di Spagna, clothed in their picturesque tatters, knew the benevolent smile of the kindly prelate who spent his modest fortune in acts of unostentatious charity. Although he scattered his scudi amongst the vagrants, and heard many an Ave said for his welfare, he loved most to aid the struggling student and to prepare for the priesthood the pious son of some impoverished Roman household. Cardinal Patrizi, whose multiplicity of offices was a tribute to his high character, to his ability, and his thorough devotion to the interests of the Church, became the devoted patron of the modest Monsignor. Patrizi was a powerful patron, and in addition to his high position in the Church was a man of mark among the Italian nobility. His family was attached to the Holy See by its traditions, and its lay members—they were Marquises—had for generations taken an active part in the government of the Papal States. The Cardinal's father, the Marquis Giovanni, was a Roman senator to the day of his death, and his mother was the Princess Cunegunde of Saxony. It was to Cardinal Patrizi that Monsignor Simeoni was indebted for his brief but distinguished career as a Papal diplomatist. More prudent than the monarchs of other States, the Sovereigns of Rome seldom employed in their service men who had not received special training for the diplomatic profession. This special training Giovanni Simeoni obtained from the Department of Foreign Ecclesiastical Affairs, in which he spent some time before he was selected to accompany Cardinal Brunelli, who was sent to Spain to negotiate the Concordat with the Government of Queen Isabella, who, however, as the event revealed, was unable to secure the liberty to the Church which its provisions accorded.

The Spanish Liberals, like the "politicians of progress" in most of the other Continental countries, had no respect for solemn treaties where the Catholic Church, the great enemy of immorality in politics and tergiversation in state-craft, was concerned. Monsignor Simeoni carried with him to Spain the title of Auditor to the Envoy, and it is no disparagement to Cardinal Brunelli to say that to the careful and conciliatory policy of the Auditor must be credited the facility with which the Spanish statesmen were induced to provide—on parchment, at all events—ample guarantees for the liberty of Catholic propagandism in the Peninsula. He became a great favourite in the Spanish Court, and in Rome received a hearty recognition of the important part he had played in the successful negotiations. When, shortly after his return to Rome, the Nuncio was recalled, Simeoni was sent back to Madrid as *ad interim* Chargé d'Affaires. There he might have remained, and probably have been promoted to the higher post of Nuncio, had his health permitted; but the capricious climate of Madrid endangered his delicate constitution, and, at his own request, he was recalled to his favourite work in the administration of the affairs of the Propaganda. It was prophesied of him in Rome that he would some day come back to Madrid to receive the sacred purple. The prophecy was fulfilled in an unexpected manner.

When, sick of revolutionary chaos, the Spaniards called the son of Isabella to the throne, Monsignor Simeoni was sent again to Madrid as Pro-Nuncio, to watch over the interests of the Church, which ran imminent risk of being completely lost sight of amidst the ambitions of the political factions, each striving earnestly to secure the influence of the Crown for their programmes, or to make the young Monarch the mere puppet of their schemes. The politicians who had recalled Alfonso XII. as the only desperate

solution of the Spanish difficulty, were anxious that the Ministers of the restored monarchy should concede nothing to the liberty of the Catholic Church, which in their programme was to become a propitiatory offering to the Revolutionists, and the means of securing their toleration for a new *régime* of law, order, and peace. The intrigues of the politicians were much more dangerous to the freedom of Catholicism than the open hostility of the party of irreligion, and it was against political intrigue that the Pro-Nuncio was constrained to use all his diplomatic resources. The presence of Simeoni in Madrid effectually counteracted the designs of the party of irreligion, and secured for the Church guarantees from the State which would preserve it from spoliation while such a thing as a duly constituted monarchy existed in Spain. The usual tribute to his high position and to the old Catholic Power at whose Court he was delegated to represent the Holy Father was accorded, and before his departure from Madrid Monsignor Simeoni was consecrated Archbishop of Chalcedon *in partibus infidelium*. Pius IX. evinced his high opinion of the character and ability of the Pro-Nuncio by naming him Cardinal *in petto* at the Consistory of the 15th of March, 1875. The success of his mission at Madrid determined the Holy Father, in September, 1875, to announce to the Church the honour he had reserved for the Archbishop of Chalcedon; and at the Consistory of the 17th, Giovanni Simeoni was proclaimed a Cardinal-Priest of the Holy Roman Church, under the title of San Pietro *in Vincoli*. His elevation to the Cardinalate was hailed in Madrid with unfeigned rejoicing, and the Pro-Nuncio received in a marked manner the congratulations of the King and the Court. He was a favourite in Spanish society, though he avoided its gaieties, and abstained even from the political reunions of the Court parties. Even the anti-clericals found nothing to complain of in the Pro-Nuncio. Earning the esteem of the Spanish Court, and cementing more closely the friendly relations between the Spanish Government and the Holy See, Cardinal Simeoni remained in Madrid until the death of Cardinal Antonelli, the Pontifical Secretary of State.

It was evident that Pius IX. had for some time looked upon Simeoni as the possible successor of the astute statesman who for nearly thirty years had guided the policy of the Roman Pontiff towards the world. There was another diplomatist in the Papal service whose abilities marked him out as the first counsellor of the Pope. Alessandro Franchi and Giovanni Simeoni were friends in the closest interpretation of the word, and for years had been associated together at the Propaganda, but Cardinal Franchi, who, it was said, did not approve of the policy in temporal matters pursued in many instances by the deceased Secretary, had no desire to succeed him. Pius IX. at once, therefore, intimated to Cardinal Simeoni, at Madrid, his appointment as Chief Secretary of State. He was, it is said, amazed at the choice made by His Holiness, for he never had a pretence to aptitude in politics. The form in which the intimation of the appointment was conveyed to him left him no alternative but to accept the exalted position humbly and silently.

The legacy which Antonelli left to his successor was not a desirable one. The forces of the world were arrayed against the Church and in Rome itself, when Antonelli died, the reign of spoliation was paramount. Before he went to Spain he had seen the ecclesiastical institutions of Rome plundered of their property in the name of the State to which it did not belong, and when he was recalled from Madrid to take his place at the Vatican as the chief adviser of the aged Pontiff, Catholic liberty had been thoroughly suppressed throughout Italy. He took up his residence at the Vatican, as Secretary of State, in December, 1876, and from the day he entered upon his duties became not merely the Minister, but the affectionate friend and confidant of the illustrious Pontiff, whose career was already so near its close. The condition of the Catholic Church in its sanctuary was, amidst all the troubles of his reign, the calamity most difficult to be borne by Pius IX. For centuries no Pontiff had been loved by the people as a temporal ruler as he had been; his presence in Rome had been the joy of the Romans; prosperity had seemed to follow the footsteps of the Pontiff throughout the Papal States, to whose inhabitants he was never a stranger. His rule was gentle and merciful; to his subjects he was, in the best of all senses, a father.

But for years he had been a prisoner, secluded from his people, who he knew were being oppressed in the name of Liberty and pilfered openly in the name of Progress. The practice of the religious life became a crime according to the laws of the new masters of Rome, and the destruction of the primary mission of the Church in the Propagation of the Faith was aimed at, by the forcible dissolution of the missionary colleges, which were as much the property of the Italian Government as a French man-of-war temporarily anchored in the

Thames would be of the English Government. Churches were sequestrated; the religious education of Catholic children discouraged; and the administration of the purely ecclesiastical affairs of the Church rendered impossible. Added to this, a bankrupt monarchy had seized upon the revenues of purely religious institutions and appropriated endowments established by the faithful outside Italy for the religious purpose of the Church alone. This grievous condition of the affairs of the Holy See was the first subject to occupy the attention of Cardinal Simeoni as Papal Minister. He at once disavowed the policy of meeting daring violation by diplomatic astuteness, and determined to expose to Europe the repudiation of all moral sense and political obligation which had marked the attitude of the new masters of Rome to the Supreme Pontiff of the Universal Church. The first fruit of his premiership was the publication of the eloquent and uncompromising Allocution of the 12th of March, 1877. To the Cardinals in Consistory the Pope reviewed the acts of spoliation which had been committed on the Church, denounced the invasion of his Pontifical rights by the Ministers of the Sardinian monarchy, and demonstrated the evil tendencies of the principles applied by the Italian politicians to the relations of the Papacy towards Italy. The Allocution, by its boldness and close reasoning, through which the conduct of the Italian Ministers was subjected to criticism in accordance with the principles of international morality accepted by the European Powers, created a profound sensation throughout the world. The exposure was complete, and signs of a revulsion of feeling against Italy, even in non-Catholic States, were evoked by its publication. From every Catholic pulpit the protest of the Pontiff was read to the Catholic people, on whom the duty was laid by the Supreme Father of the Faithful of using every constitutional means for inducing their Governments not only to prevent the further spoliation of the Holy See and of the Catholic Church, but also for the restoration of the Successor of Peter to the independence absolutely necessary for the free exercise of his high office.

The publication of the Allocution throughout Italy had the effect of arousing Catholic enthusiasm, and of alienating from the Sardinian Government a large share of the sympathy and support it had hitherto obtained from a deluded population. The sensation created in Europe, and the comments of that portion of the European Press hitherto favourable to the pretensions of the Sardinian monarchy, and led astray by the belief that under the House of Savoy the Italian people enjoyed full liberty of conscience and unprecedented prosperity, provoked a spirit of retaliation in the Italian Ministers which after all only betrayed the weakness of their cause. A leading English journal had admitted that the Pope had proved his case against Italy, and that the contention that before a sovereign could be called free his Ministers must be allowed to execute his commands, was unassailable. "United Italy" paraded its magnanimity in still acknowledging the Pope as a sovereign possessing sovereign rights; but as Pius IX. pointed out in the Allocution, the administrators of the Italian laws made it illegal for the clergy, who are the ministers of the Pope, to obey his commands. The Pope was free, indeed, to issue any commands he chose, but not a single person in Italy was free to execute them or even to transmit them. The truth of the charge made against the Italian Government was illustrated at once by the retaliatory action of the Italian Ministry. The Minister of Grace and Justice, Mancini, issued a letter of instructions, not, indeed, forbidding the publication of the Allocution in Italy, but recommending the prosecution by the Government officials of any journalist who favourably commented on the document. This was freedom of opinion according to the political programme of "United Italy." But the letter of instructions was also merely an excuse for an outburst of a violent tirade against the Holy Father, whom the Ministers accused of ingratitude in not being thankful for the spoliation of his States, and the daily outrages committed against his spiritual authority. They sought by the assumption of a sorrowful spirit of indignation to mitigate the public effect of the Pontifical protest. The new Cardinal-Secretary was, however, too keen a thinker, too fully alive to the situation of the Church, to lose the opportunity of fastening on the Italian Government the charges of oppression and bad faith which had been so clearly stated in the Allocution.

The time had long passed for any appeal to the political honour of Italian statesmen, and the Cardinal-Secretary did not attempt any such work of supererogation. He determined to arraign the statesmen of Italy before the tribunal of the statesmen of Europe, and replied to the mendacious circular of Mancini by a despatch addressed to the representatives of the Holy See abroad, requesting them to submit it to the Governments to which they were accredited. In this reply Cardinal Simeoni demonstrated that with all his

distaste for statesmanship he possessed the qualities of a great Papal statesman. He mercilessly dissected the statements of the Italian Minister for the purpose of shewing that, with all the ministerial professions of friendship, the policy of the Ministry was one of direct antagonism, not merely to the temporal rights of the Pope, but to the exercise of his spiritual jurisdiction over Catholics, not merely of Italy, but of the whole Church. Signor Mancini had paraded the fact that the existing laws and the proposed legislation of United Italy respected the person of the Pontiff, and did not restrict his utterances. Only an expert in Machiavellian dissimulation could have so dexterously denied, without lying, the serious charges made by Pope Pius against Italian policy. The sophistry was stripped from the special pleading of the Minister by the cogent reasoning of the Papal Secretary, who shewed that even the utterances of the Pontiff himself were at the mercy of the Italian Ministry. There could be no answer to the plain statement of the Cardinal-Secretary that—"As for the clergy, the liberty they are promised is formulated by fresh and more severe threats of punishment; so that if the ministers of religion obey the voice of the Supreme Pontiff, preach his doctrines, and recommend their practice to the people, they find themselves under the lash of a law declaring their conduct an intolerable abuse, punishable with imprisonment and the heaviest fines." The professions of respect for the Holy See of which the Italian Ministers were so profuse, only provoked an exposure of its hollowness. "Moreover," said the Cardinal, "the single fact that the Minister, commenting on a discourse solemnly pronounced by the most august authority on earth, leaves unnoticed all the facts denounced by that authority as so many injustices endured by it, and summoning it, as it were, before his tribunal, using captious language that strikingly contrasts with that to which he is replying, merely sets himself to fix on the Sovereign-Pontiff the charge of violence and exciting to insurrection, and even goes so far as to reproach him with having uttered complaints, when he ought, the circular tells him, to be expressing gratitude,—this single fact, I say, shews how much confidence can be placed in his reiterated protestations of respect and deference toward the spiritual jurisdiction of the Supreme Head of the Church."

The controversy in which Cardinal Simeoni so completely destroyed the pretension of the Italian Minister and convinced the world of the disregard of natural and international right which directed the Sardinian antagonism to the Papacy, was the great episode of Cardinal Simeoni's short tenure of office as Secretary of State. He did more to secure the sympathy of the world for the Holy See by that one act than had been achieved by his astute predecessor—Cardinal Antonelli—during the seven years that had elapsed from the Italian occupation of Rome. The people of France were moved to the heart, and petitioned the Catholic President of the Republic, Marshal MacMahon, to interfere for the protection of the rights of the Holy See, and in Spain the people called upon their Government "never to make peace with the enemies of the Church." In the Catholic States of Germany, in Austria, and indeed throughout the whole Catholic world the independence of the Holy See became a prominent question in national politics. Pius IX., in the delivery of the famous Allocution, made his last and greatest protest against the spoliation of the Holy See, and against the oppression of the Universal Church. Faithful in his affectionate friendship to the end, Cardinal Simeoni, much as he desired to be relieved of his Secretaryship, remained by the side of Pius IX. to the close of his memorable life. With the accession of a new Pontiff he was, at his own request, allowed to resign his office, and was appointed to the position of Prefect-General of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda, for which his predilection, knowledge, and early training specially fitted him. He was thus placed at the head of a great historic organisation of which a great authority has written that "it is the most admirable institution of the most perfect and grandest organisation of society which has ever appeared." The history of the Propaganda is the chronicle of the modern triumphs of Christianity.

When the seventeenth century opened, the spiritual dominions of the Pope had extended so widely throughout the world that the duty of propagating Christian truth and carrying the Gospel to the uttermost ends of the earth could no longer be left to the hazard of individual efforts or the Apostolic enterprise of the reigning Pontiff, however zealous he might be in the interests of the Church. Hitherto the Christian kingdom had grown more by the efforts of unorganised zeal than by any systematised propagandism. The discoveries of the merchant adventurers who had gone forth from Spain, from Portugal, from Venice and from England, many of them inspired, like Columbus—that prince of captains—by religious fervour as

much as by scientific ardour or commercial enterprise, had revealed to wondering Europe new and beautiful lands, and strange races of the great human family. East and west, diverse tribes, all endowed with intelligence and with souls to be saved, had been brought to the knowledge of the successor of him to whom the souls of all the children of men had been committed. In unknown seas magic islands had appeared, thronged with peoples by whom the message from Calvary had never been heard. As much, perhaps more, to the noble enthusiasm of the daring priests and monks of the Middle Ages as to the enterprise of the sea captains, was the older world indebted for the knowledge of far-off lands and the lost children of their own species. To us, surrounded by all the scientific facilities for locomotion and intercommunication, the persevering intrepidity of these early pioneers of faith and of civilisation is hardly realisable: that setting forth from an island in the Western seas, simple men who had spent their lives in cloisters shutting them in from the outer world, should go forth and with no directing power but the holy spirit of Christian charity should wander over perilous mountains, amidst savage and hostile peoples, scattering the seeds of religion around them as they went, patiently learning barbarous tongues that they might preach the faith of Rome, was a high form of heroism which overshadows by its intrinsic greatness the achievements of the adventurous men of our own times; but that they should desert the land and peril their lives over unknown seas, searching for human souls, and with no other object whatever, is a degree of enthusiasm of which in these more fortunate times we can have no adequate conception.

It was in the stray knowledge which through them came back to Europe that the merchant adventurers of a later age found their incitements to daring enterprise. Ancient communities in the East, once the centre of civilisation, and still the homes of human culture, when the Apostles received the gift of tongues in the unadorned sanctuary in Jerusalem, and thence spread themselves amongst the worshippers of the pagan gods, had fallen into barbarism. The plague of darkness had completely shrouded the Egypt of the Pharaohs, and where Carthage had once stood dusky savages wandered untaught over desolate plains. The great empires against which the leaders of Israel had led their chosen people had fallen into decay and far back in the ranks of civilisation. In the West, a portion of the human family, how or when may never be known, had found another continent as a resting place, and had sent back no sign of their new life to the olden lands. The discoveries of the navigators of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries had brought back again into communication with the newer centres of civilisation in Europe the lost races of Asia and of Africa, and the till then unknown tribes of the Western continent. To the European mind far-off Edens were thus suddenly revealed, luxuriant in natural beauty, and laden with all the fruits of Paradise. Even primæval Man was there—the embodiment of physical beauty, but also the embodiment of moral deformity. The children of Cain were wandering abroad with the brand of his crime. It was the pious age when men and women were devout, not according to formal usages, but in response to a spirit of high enthusiasm. Many a monk in his cell and nun in her cloister wept for the souls that were being lost to Heaven; and many a prayer went up from the stately altars of Catholic Europe beseeching for the descent of the Holy Spirit amidst the darkened nations beyond the seas. The hand of God seemed to be shaping events in Europe for the strengthening of His kingdom beyond the limits of civilisation. The turmoils round the Papal throne, in which the Colonnas had played so conspicuous a part, were almost at an end, and though Luther had formulated his heresy, a new apostolate had been called into existence to counteract the incredulity of Northern Europe by conjuring into fervid activity the faith of the older Catholic peoples. The Franciscans were spreading themselves over the Continent; the Carmelites trudged barefooted through the slums of the towns, knocking at the doors of the poor and lonely with the emblem of salvation. Spain, ever faithful to Catholic doctrine and tradition, in all the startling contrasts of her history, repeated for the Church the story of Augustine. She gave Catholicism a Loyola, and he gave the Church the Society of Jesus. The conversion of the pagan and the infidel became the watchword of the religious Orders. The followers of Ignatius and of Francis of Assisi called the young noble from his castle; the merchant from his counting-house; the student from his cloister; the farmer from his plough; and all from the delights of the world to send them forth the bearers of the Cross to the newly discovered nations. It was one remarkable characteristic of the sudden access of missionary fervour which possessed the soul of Catholic Europe that every rank demanded for itself a share in the Propagation of the Faith. The peasant

who lived upon black bread offered his penny, with as pious a pride in his good work as that of the noble who presented the missionaries with a chest of doubloons.

From every Catholic land petitions came to the Roman Pontiffs asking the Apostolic benediction for new missionary enterprises, and the leaders of the missionary armies themselves came to Rome to receive their commission to preach and to baptise. The army of Christian soldiers had grown too vast in its proportions to be longer left to the direction of chiefs acting only on the inspiration of their own zeal and without common counsel. It was necessary to centralise the control of the soldiery of the Church. The chronicles of Catholicism are rich in the miraculous provision at the propitious moment of men specially designed to answer the requirements of Providence. Just as a Loyola had been called from the revels of Spanish courtiers, and Francis of Assisi from the mart, so the Church found in a great Capuchin preacher the organising mind to formulate a complete system of Catholic Missions. Fra Girolamo di Nardi was one of the great preachers of his time. The wealthy and the learned, the sinful and the saintly alike thronged the churches in which he preached, to hear from his eloquent lips the precepts of Christian duty. Fra Girolamo owed his influence over the multitudes who listened to him as much to the ascetic saintliness of his life as to his fiery and energetic eloquence. Amongst his most frequent hearers was the great Cardinal Bellarmine, who, in the end, became the friend of the Capuchin. Fra Girolamo brought to Rome the suggestion from which has grown the institution known to the believing and unbelieving world alike as the Propaganda, though to Pope Gregory XV. the great Congregation which directs the cure of souls throughout the universe owes its existence. But Gregory was not the first of the Pontiffs whose mind had been occupied with the great question of the consolidation of the Catholic Missions. The Popes and the Cardinals had been called upon during the whole of the fifteenth century to consider a variety of schemes for the reduction of the missionary work of the Church to some definite system.

Fra Girolamo was, for the Church at all events, fortunate in being the intimate friend of Cardina Ludovisio, the nephew of Cardinal Alexander Ludovisio, Archbishop of Bologna, who was chosen to succeed Paul V. as Pope. The new Pontiff, Gregory XV., signalled his accession to the See of Peter by calling his nephew to the Sacred College. Cardinal Ludovisio was a learned as well as a zealous ecclesiastic, and occupied his leisure in adding to the literature of Catholicism. But he was a wealthy man as well. Instigated by his *protégé*, Fra Girolamo, he interested himself in the design of the Congregation of the Propaganda. Gregory XV. was himself fully impressed with the necessity of some settled system of organisation for the government of the missionary work of the Church. He signalled his brief Pontificate by paying the highest tribute of the Church to three of the great Propagandists of the Faith, in the canonisations of Ignatius Loyola, Francis Xavier, and Philip Neri. It was in accordance with the counsel given by the saintly Capuchin, that the Cardinal Ludovisio, who possessed much the same sort of influence with the reigning Pope as that used so beneficently for the Church by San Carlo Borromeo with his uncle Pope Pius IV., that the foundation of the great system was at last determined upon. At first it was arranged that those whose advice was deemed necessary should meet regularly and discuss the subject under the presidency of the Pope; and at last, the plan being completed, Gregory XV. announced to the Church the foundation of the Sacred Congregation of the *Propaganda de Fide* by a Papal Constitution, dated the 22nd of June, 1622. In this document the whole spirit of the missionary life is embodied, and the function of the Church in the world beautifully set forth. The Saviour, he said, had given His Apostles the commission to consecrate to the service of God all the infidel nations and to incorporate them with the Church of which Christ is the Chief. In the East, he pointed out, nations which had been endowed with the gifts of Heaven had abandoned the Faith for the impure extravagance of the children of Agar; and there were also Christians in the world who had abandoned themselves to heresy. Christ, said the Pontiff, had been despoiled of provinces and of kingdoms, and the new Congregation was the means by which they were to be restored to the Master. Many Popes had before Gregory taken steps to send missionaries abroad, but it was necessary to crown the edifice, as it were. For this end His Holiness ordained that the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith should consist of eighteen Cardinals and of such Consulting Prelates as might be necessary. Their mission was to take cognisance and to direct the spread of the Catholic Faith throughout the world, to send the message of

Christ to those who had never heard it, and bring back those who had exiled themselves from His Father's Kingdom.

In the beginning of its great life this powerful organisation of faith had no dwelling place of its own. The Cardinals who composed it met in one of the Pontifical palaces, and there discussed the progress and the wants of the Church. The first work was to gather information, which should be at once accurate and full, of the condition of the peoples who lived outside Christianity altogether, and the next was to provide missionaries specially qualified for each particular country to be evangelised. There was a wealth of learned men in the Church then. The Jesuits, the Oratorians, the Franciscans, and the Order of Preachers, and, indeed, all the religious organisations of the Church possessed their great minds steeped in all the knowledge of the times. The archives of the Orders, were rich in the chronicles of the missionaries who had already gone forth and had sent home vivid accounts of the new lands they had visited. And all the knowledge thus gleaned was placed at the disposal of the new Congregation. The provision of specially trained missionaries was a more difficult matter, and necessitated endowments. Gregory set the example by contributing from his private purse large donations, and his nephew, the learned Cardinal Ludovisio, bestowed his goods lavishly on the perfection of the great project. Gregory was not fated to see his great scheme assume any very tangible shape. The Congregation was, indeed, formed, and the plan of organisation was put into operation, and communications were opened with the intrepid pioneers of the Faith who wandered among the pagan hordes, as with the erudite champions of the Church—the preaching and teaching Orders, who combated ancient schisms in the East and modern heresy in Europe. But there was still wanting the great Cosmopolitan University, the sanctuary of the gift of tongues, for the training of the young apostles of many races, who were already coming to Rome to drink the waters of life at their fountain, and carrying back to their own people the consolations and the hopes of Christianity. Urban VIII., one of the elegant Latin and Tuscan poets of his day, completed the scheme initiated by his predecessor, Gregory XV. He erected the College of the Propaganda, which thenceforth became the chief Christian seminary of the world, and here the Congregation gathered together the Christian literature of all the countries under the dominion of the Church. Protestant writers whose ability ought to have been a guarantee against ignorance of facts, have frequently charged the Church of Peter with the design of keeping the Holy Scriptures from the knowledge of mankind. The College of the Propaganda is an answer to the calumny.

Its very first work was to gather together a library of works in no less than thirty languages ; its next was to print the Scriptures and the manuals of Catholic Faith in not merely the languages of the civilised nations, but in tongues hardly known to the most learned linguists of the time. The work of the Propaganda consisted then, as it consists now, in spreading the knowledge of the Scriptures amongst all manner of men, while establishing throughout the world the Church whose commission has been preserved in the Gospels. Before the Propaganda was founded new languages had been discovered by the missionaries, who had forwarded to the Superiors of their Orders such knowledge on the grammatical construction of the strange tongues as they had been able to glean by communication with their possessors. But as a vehicle for the dissemination of literature conveying the fundamental principles of Catholic belief, or the instructions necessary for the cultivation of the devotional practices of the Church, the knowledge so obtained was almost useless. In order to systematise the languages or dialects newly discovered, the aid of the most learned philologists of the time was called in by the Congregation specially established for the propagation of the Faith. The Propaganda thus became from the very first days of its existence what it still remains—a depository of valuable scientific information, and the source of much of the most precious knowledge of the history, habits and language of a great portion of the human race. By its aid in training missionaries and sending them out to strange countries, the Propaganda did even more. It aided the sciences of geology, botany, and zoology by collecting vast stores of facts which, but for the Apostolic ardour of the Church in spreading Catholicity, might still have been hidden from the minds of men.

The example of Pope Urban found ready followers amongst the ecclesiastical dignitaries and higher laity of the Church. Princes and nobles offered their gifts lavishly, and the fervour for the spread of Religion, now that a definite organisation existed for its direction, increased rapidly. The French and the Irish were amongst the first to recruit the expeditionary armies of the Church ; but every Catholic nation in Europe,

particularly Spain, claimed a share in the holy work. Most of them desired to establish national colleges in Rome in connection with the Propaganda; and those colleges in time became the centres whence Christianity was carried to the tributary peoples of the countries which they represented. Catholic Ireland, then in the agony of martyrdom for the truth, had no national Government to testify her devotion to the Church. Yet Ireland was remembered in Rome, for even in the time of her own persecution she spared many of her noblest children to carry the Faith for which she suffered to those who had never known it. The influential Cardinal Ludovico loved the faithful Irish, and determined that her suffering people should not remain without a sign of their distinctiveness amongst the nations. It was he who, to honour Ireland's fealty to the Holy See, founded the Irish College in Rome, almost the first auxiliary to the Propaganda. Before the first half of the seventeenth century had closed every unknown sea was bearing on its bosom the peaceful crusaders of Catholicism. Even before the Propaganda was founded, the followers of S. Francis had made their way to the eastern coast of North America; and thirty years after the constitution of the Congregation by Gregory XV., the first Catholic church was opened in the territory which now forms the State of New York. Into the heart of Africa, to the islands of the Indian Ocean, and even into Hindustan itself, the missionaries penetrated and the Cross was again set up in the Holy Land, in Barbary, and within sight of the Pyramids. Japan, until recently an unknown region to Europe, was visited by the Christian pioneers at least three centuries ago, and the Great Wall of China itself proved no barrier to Catholic zeal. The Moor, chased from Europe by a Catholic army, was followed into the heart of his own country by the Catholic missionary. The Jesuit and the Capuchin were to be found wherever unbaptised humanity dwelt, and while yet commerce lagged behind the followers of Loyola were adding legions to the Church and gathering the seeds of science amongst the wandering tribes of Central and South America. As the missionaries extended their work they obeyed the precepts of the Propaganda by sending their most prominent neophytes to Rome to be trained as their successors, and in the capital of Christendom these youths of strange races became the objects of the scientific curiosity of Europe. Millions were added to the spiritual dominion of the Pontifical See, and, notwithstanding the wars of the seventeenth, the infidelity and the revolutions of the eighteenth century, the number of Catholic Christians in the world had nearly doubled since the commencement of the Lutheran schism. Besides the wealth of souls which had been given to the Church, a wealth of secular knowledge was given to the world by the missions which for nearly two hundred years had been working under the direction of the Congregation of the Propaganda. Civilisation, whatever the Rationalistic philosophers may say to the contrary, owes an abundant share of its triumphs and its knowledge to Catholicism and to Catholicism only.

The work of the Propaganda was seriously interrupted, as indeed was the whole progress of the Church, by the Napoleonic wars and the successive occupations of Rome, the exile of the Popes and the general disruption of the ecclesiastical organisations. But with the restoration of peace and of the Popes, the propagation of the Faith was renewed with an activity full of the freshness which comes from prolonged rest. No longer indebted to the changeable bounty of princes or nobles for its means of disseminating Catholic truth, but now relying on the fervid charity of the millions of Catholics peopling the world, the Congregation of the Propaganda once more stretched forth its far-reaching hand over the races of men. The Pontificate of Gregory XVI. was, perhaps, the richest of all in Apostolic labour since the last Gregory had instituted the Congregation and the learned Urban had erected the great University, still standing in the Piazza di Spagna. When as a youth Giovanni Simeoni mingled in its halls with the many coloured children of the Universal Church, little dreaming that he was destined to rule where he studied, the Propaganda had reached to a height of influence and prosperity it had never before attained and has not since surpassed. He was frequently present at the wonderful festivals of the "tongues of fire" at which the students from all parts of the world celebrated the Epiphany. In his time Cardinal Mezzofanti, who was the most wonderful product of the system of the Propaganda, was the chief figure in the Cosmopolitan gatherings. Men of science and of letters travellers, statesmen, all sought the great linguist, who had learnt thoroughly almost every known language from the students of all races who studied at Rome. The festivals are the tribute paid to the success of the system of the Propaganda. The students are required to recite, each in his own native tongue, a theme appropriate to the occasion. There are living men who have heard, at the festival of tongues, recitations delivered in as many as

fifty-six languages, and have been amazed to find that one man, the great linguist, Mezzofanti, comprehended all. Here the ebon-skinned, thick-lipped Ethiopian learnt philosophy side by side with the pale Caucasian, the Chinese with the Russian, the Armenian with the Hindoo, the Red Indian with the free citizen of the United States, the Portuguese with the native of Surinam, the Spaniard with the aboriginal Mexican, the Egyptian with the Moor. Every known variety of the human race mingled, all receiving the same Divine truth from the same Apostolic fountain. In the halls of the Propaganda, too, take place the intellectual combats in which the alumni of the national colleges contend for the degree of doctor, and in Simeoni's time some of the greatest ecclesiastics of the European nations were amongst the directors of the intellectual games. Wiseman represented England, notwithstanding his Irish blood; Paul Cullen, the learned Orientalist, presided over the competition of the eager-souled students from Ireland, and Franzelin, the profound Jesuit, Pitra, great among Benedictines, Theiner, the learned Oratorian, and a host of other men renowned in Catholic literature or the science of theology, were amongst the habitués of the University of the Church.

The Propaganda was almost a home to Simeoni in those days, and though he never sought a reputation among the learned there he was still known and respected as one of the most conscientious of its students. Simple and pious in his habits he was by the turn of his mind fitted for difficult administration, and early in his career, before the period when Pius IX. secured his services to the ecclesiastical administration of Papal affairs, knew the whole system of the Propaganda by heart, and the knowledge of all the departments in the great centre whence the Faith is diffused through the world fitted him for the many important offices which, in the direction of the Catholic Missions, he was called upon to undertake. That portion of his life which was not spent in the diplomatic service of the Holy See was altogether occupied, from the accession of Pius IX., in duties more or less appertaining to the College of the Congregation of the Propaganda. His very first office, that of Prelate and Secretary of the Roman University, introduced him to the midst of the great administrators of the Department for the Propagation of the Faith. It was in his capacity as Secretary that he was fortunate in finding the friendship of Cardinal Patrizi—one of the great Prefects of the Congregation *de Propaganda Fide*—and brought the modest Monsignor Simeoni into closer relations with the great institution. One of the most distinguished auxiliaries of the Propaganda is the Roman Seminary of Appollinaris, which in the Roman States held the same position as one of the great public schools of England. Cardinal Patrizi, who, as Prefect of the teaching Congregation, *par excellence*, had the government of all the ecclesiastical colleges, appointed Simeoni Prefect of Studies to the important institution, and added to the appointment the additional honour of Consultor to the Congregation for the Examination of Bishops, giving him especially a voice in Canon Law. This position of Consultor to the Congregations is an onerous one, though it brings no great public dignity. Special learning in the subjects dealt with is a requirement, for it is the duty of the Consultors to advise the Cardinals on the questions submitted to them, to direct them as to the law and the practice of the Church, and counsel them as to the decisions to be given in any disputed case which may come before them in tribunal.

Although a considerable time had been passed by him away from his old collegiate associations during his absence as Nuncio, yet when, in 1862, the necessities and the dangers of the Oriental churches in communion with the Holy See, and under the direction of the Propaganda, suggested the formation of a special Congregation for the control of the affairs of the Eastern Catholics, Pius IX. selected Monsignor Simeoni as the Secretary of the new department. Practically the Special Congregation of Oriental Rites is a branch of the Propaganda, dealing with the various forms of discipline and authority still preserved by the ancient Churches of the East. The primary purpose of the new department was the review and correction of the Eastern liturgies, with the object, while preserving the olden discipline, of bringing them into closer conformity with the liturgy of Rome. As the first Consultors of the Congregation, a number of the most distinguished Orientalists of the Church were associated together. Fathers Franzelin and Bollig, of the Society of Jesus; Theiner, the Oratorian; Father Smith and Father Zingerle, of Mount Cassino; Erculei and Scapaticci, of the Vatican Library, and Ugo Lammer were amongst them, and under the direction of Cardinal de Reisach commenced the great work of revision. Simeoni was the secretary of this learned body, and was by no means the least scholarly of the committee of distinguished *savants*. The first task undertaken by them was a labour of

years, requiring patient investigation into the history of those Churches in the East of which Gregory XV. complained as having been tainted by schism or fallen into disciplinarian disorder. Early in the history of the Propaganda, Louis XIV. of France had undertaken the protection of the Catholic Christians of Syria and the Lebanon, at the solicitation of a Capuchin monk, and through all the trials of her history France has been faithful in the fulfilment of the duty undertaken by Louis. Even the Ministry of the Republic, which seeks to eliminate religion from the education of the French people at home, finds it necessary to maintain the liberty of the Catholics of Syria. But the disorders which prevailed in the Ottoman Empire, the absence of law in its administration, and the barefaced corruption of Turkish officialism, all tended to vitiate the Catholic organisation in the provinces of Asia Minor. The condition of the Catholics of Syria and the Lebanon thus early became one of the difficult questions for the consideration of the Congregation of which Monsignor Simeoni was the chief official. The necessary negotiations to secure the independence of action of the Propaganda in reforming the condition of the Christians of the Lebanon were conducted by him with such consummate tact that the decisions of the Congregation were carried into effect without let or hindrance. In fact, beyond the question of the liturgies, the disturbances in the political arrangements of the East imposed upon the Congregation constant, delicate, and onerous duties. Revolutions against the Ottoman power, or wars against the Ottoman Empire could not take place without seriously disturbing the relations of the Catholic communities towards the infidel States. The instability of the Turkish statesmen, who, promising liberty to the Catholic Christians, constantly interfered with their ecclesiastical government; the intrigues of the Russo-Greek schismatics to lead the Catholics away from the authority of the Roman See, produced disastrous complications, which ended in the revolt against the authority of the Holy See of a small section of the Catholic body, under the leadership of Monsignor Kupelion. The Catholics who remained faithful to the Holy See were deprived of the presence of their recognised Patriarch, while the usurpation of Monsignor Kupelion was sustained by the Turkish Government. The advisability of a review of the condition of discipline in the Eastern Churches was manifested in this unhappy dispute, in which no question of doctrine was at issue, and a claim for immunity from the authority of the Holy See in matters of discipline was used as a justification for rebellion. During the Pontificate of Gregory XVI. the Propaganda had been active in the East, and in Asia alone no fewer than thirty new Apostolic Vicariates had been established in the East, while in Africa, where several of the Catholic communities are governed according to Oriental discipline, nine Vicariates had been created. In Egypt alone, for instance, there are five different rites of Catholic worship: the Coptic, the Syrian, the Maronite, the Armenian, and the Latin. In the mere government of the Eastern Catholics, without the additional troubles of the disorganisation brought about by the political complications, there was ample work for the Special Congregation, for during the last three Pontificates, more perhaps than during any of the Pontificates of the last three centuries, had the spread of the pure Catholic Faith in the East, the cradle of Christianity, occupied the attention of the Popes. In devoting so much of his Apostolic zeal to the propagation of religion in the East, Gregory XVI. only followed the example of the thirteenth Pope of his name, who created a rude model of the future Propaganda by the formation of a Committee of Cardinals to take special charge of Catholicism in the Oriental countries.

From its foundation till the year 1868 Monsignor Simeoni continued to act as Secretary to the Congregation of Oriental Rites. In 1868, the Secretary of the Propaganda, Monsignor Capalto, was raised to the Sacred College, and Monsignor Simeoni was nominated by Pius IX., on the suggestion of Cardinal Barnabo, as his successor. Cardinal Barnabo was one of the great Prelates of the Pontificate of Pope Pius IX., and had spent the greater part of his life in the Propaganda, directing the affairs of the Catholic Missions, in one capacity or another, for nearly forty years. It was he who, long before he became Cardinal, was the moving spirit at Rome in the restoration of the hierarchy to England, and in the creation of Catholic Church government in most of the English-speaking countries. Vigilant, learned, unceasingly industrious, he, it is said, more than any dignitary or ecclesiastic during the long reign of Pius IX., contributed to the extension of the Church, and to the perfection of her organisation throughout the world. In the new Secretary of the Congregation the zealous Prefect-General found an invaluable assistant, who to a mind of marvellous capacity for administration united a simplicity of character and a pure devotion to the Faith of

Peter. When Cardinal Barnabo died in 1873, he was succeeded by another great churchman, Alessandro Franchi, who, on entering on the direction of the Propaganda, found his old friend, Simeoni, an indispensable functionary. With perfect accord, the two Prelates, who were to change positions in the Church only a few years later, worked heartily together for two years, till the selection of Monsignor Simeoni as Nuncio to Madrid removed him for a time from the institution with which his life had become identified. The coincidence was curious that Simeoni, who by-and-by bade farewell to the Pontifical State Secretaryship, to become President of the Missionary Department of the Church, and Franchi, who left the Prefecture of the Propaganda to succeed him as Pontifical Secretary, should have represented the Holy See at Madrid; the one at the inauguration of disorder, the other at the restoration of the monarchy and the funeral of the revolution. At last, in February, 1878, Simeoni, now three years a Cardinal, entered the Propaganda again, this time to preside over the widespread organisation to which he had devoted nearly a quarter of a century of his life, and all his devotion and ability. And with the Prefecture of the Propaganda, to which he was appointed by Leo XIII., he also took the Presidency of the Special Congregation for the government of Oriental Catholicism, of which he had been the first Secretary and, indeed, the guiding mind. In the Oriental Congregation he was surrounded by a circle of able churchmen and distinguished scholars, among them Greek, Maronite, and Armenian Archbishops, and the most learned men of the great religious Orders. In our days, as its functions have widened so the proportions of the great Congregation of the Propaganda have increased. Twenty-two Cardinals now form its Senate, whilst the most experienced and erudite canonists and the trusted leaders of the missionary bodies are counted among the Consultors. But a faint view of the vast labour entailed by the work of the Congregation can be obtained from the most voluminous literature of Catholic Missions. No longer indebted to the bounty of princes and the generosity of the wealthy for its means of promulgating the Faith, the Propaganda relies on the more assured support of the whole Catholic world.

In 1822 was founded at Lyons the Association for the Propagation of the Faith, whose auxiliary branches are now extended throughout the Catholic communities of the whole world. Austria and Germany, following the example of France, have founded similar societies, bound together by the duty of assisting by prayer and alms the conversion of the heathen and the heretic. Like all great organisations, simplicity of system is the great principle by which these societies are made effective. The members are found in every class, and the same system of dividing them into sections prevails in every Catholic country. The members of each section contribute a small weekly donation, which finds its way, increased to a large gift, to the central organisation, and thence to the assistance of the missionaries in the remotest corners of the earth.

The annals of the Propagation of the Faith, published monthly, and translated into many languages, though composed of the simple records of the triumphs and progress of the missionaries engaged in the spread of religion and morality at all points of the compass, are the repository of a rich store of varied information, invaluable to future historians of the human family. Through the annals, modern literature has gained more knowledge of the internal economy of the Chinese Empire; the customs, the traditions, and civilisation of its people; of the mythology and the superstitions, and of the genealogy of the aboriginal races of mankind, than from any other source. The mineral, the zoological, the geographical peculiarities of regions almost unknown to Europe until within the last half-century, have, by the chronicles of the missionaries contributed to the annals of the Propagation of the Faith, supplied the *savants* of Europe with an almost inexhaustible mine of scientific knowledge. And yet the annals form but a small portion of the literature supplied by the Catholic missionaries to, and digested by, the trained minds forming the executive departments of the Congregation of the Propaganda. From the merely secular point of view, the Prefect of the Congregation is an important centre and source of civilisation and progress. Catholic zeal thus supplies to the world a very considerable proportion indeed of its secular knowledge. In addition to the contributions so readily given by the faithful, through the societies whose special function is to collect funds for the dissemination of religious truth, a princely revenue is given to the support of Catholic Missions by the missionary Orders themselves. The missionaries are poor, for the kingdom to which they belong is not of this world. They dispossess themselves of everything which man regards as necessary to the most parsimonious enjoyment of life, and whatever may be the position to which they originally belong, they endow the cause which they serve with all that is theirs. The

nobleman, rich in treasure and in lineage, brings his wealth into the Order which he joins, and sets out for his mission of regeneration in company with his brother, born without a claim to anything of earthly goods. In addition, the money collected, often by begging from door to door, by the means of the Orders resident in civilised communities, provides generous endowments for the new missions in pagan countries. In this way a revenue amounting to millions is yearly gathered together for the sole purpose of spreading the Catholic Faith among the heathen nations of the Universe. The members of the missionary Orders are counted by tens of thousands, and each decade in the modern history of the Church adds some new regiment to this magnificent Army of the Cross. The direction of a Christian campaign throughout the earth is centred in the Congregation of which Cardinal Simeoni is the President.

It has been computed that no civil government in the world controls such a complex and widespread system of human organisation as that controlled by the Congregation ruling over the Propagation of the Faith of the Fisherman. The Propaganda holds direct jurisdiction over the Catholic ecclesiastical system of the whole British Empire; of Brazil; of Chili; of the American continent, including the United States; of British, French, and Dutch Guiana; of Africa (except Algeria), of Asia, of Denmark, of Sweden; of Norway, of Turkey; of the Danubian Principalities; of Greece, the Ionian Islands, and of the multitudinous islands composing all the Oceanicas. Its indirect jurisdiction extends to every land whereon a Catholic altar is erected. The immensity of the organisation which it controls is indicated by the mere fact that there are now in connection with the See of Peter one thousand one hundred and twenty-seven episcopal sees and Apostolic Vicariates. The educational functions of the Propaganda, as a matter of course, extend with the extension of the Church. In Rome the College of the Propaganda is the centre of the ecclesiastical University system. To it are affiliated nearly all the national and other Catholic collegiate institutions established in Rome. The capital of Catholicism, when Rome was ruled by its Pontiff, boasted seven State universities for the education of youth of all classes. Five great colleges, specially devoted to theology and religious philosophy, were gratuitously open to the children of the Church. All the world has heard of the famous Roman college founded by S. Francis Borgia, third General of the Jesuits, where from generation to generation the great intellects of the Society have been trained, and the students sent to Rome by the Jesuit missionaries were wont to receive their education for the priesthood. Its library, endowed by many a great Cardinal—Bellarmine among them—and by such *savants* as Muret, was a treasure priceless to modern culture and to science. The Roman University, one of the oldest in the world, founded by Innocent IV. in 1244, was another of the famous educational establishments affiliated to the Propaganda. Then there were the national colleges; the great Germanic College, founded by S. Ignatius; the Scotch, the Greek, the Ruthenian, the Irish, and the Belgian, not to speak of the great institutions endowed by France and Spain; the great seminaries—the Vatican, Roman, French, South American, North American, and the Seminary of Pius; the Italian foundations, such as those of Ghislieri, Capranica, Pamphili, Salviato, and the great Clementine College for ecclesiastics of noble birth; the Bonaventura College, founded by Sixtus V., and a long list of other educational endowments, providing for the higher education of the youth of every grade. All these were more or less under the influence of the Propaganda, and all contributed, by sending their choicest minds to aid in the special mission of the Urban College, to the celebrity of the centre of Catholic education.

Each of these establishments was, as those which remain of them are, endowed with literary treasures of historic interest, and combined were a powerful influence in the diffusion of intellectual power throughout the Catholic world. Rich, too, in its non-literary possessions, the Propaganda was, and happily still is, the Roman Paradise of the scholarly minds of Europe. Its polyglot press spreads literature in languages unknown to the most learned philologists, and its precious collection of Oriental manuscripts is a prize which every library in Europe might envy. But such a heritage of learning and of faith was not destined for the present Prefect of the Apostolic Ministry of all the nations. He had, indeed, known it in its palmy days—in those times when Pius IX. was lavishly spending his revenues in providing new centres of intellectual culture for the Catholics of every land, when he endowed the College for English Converts, and sent Cardinal Borromeo to watch over the educational wants of the children of the poorest Roman; he had met in its halls the noble and the learned of all nationalities, and the Samsons of modern science, seeking knowledge from its fountains of

wisdom. Ere Giovanni Simeoni was called from the Secretariat of the Congregation to Madrid, the ravishers had entered the Roman sanctuaries of science, and spoiled them of their treasures. When in 1878 he was selected to preside over its organisation, he inherited a ruin of the great University of the ante-Sardinian period. The Jesuits had been chased by the agents of Italian unity from the Roman College, and their treasures seized. The foundations of the Propaganda itself had been appropriated, and throughout the whole City the educational establishments had been pilfered of their lands and their other endowments. The Rome of the Italian kingdom was a literary desert compared to the Rome of Pius IX. In seizing upon the scholastic and religious endowments of Rome, the Italian Government took that which did not belong to it, even by right of conquest. The colleges, the seminaries, and the schools of Rome were not the gifts of Italians, but the gifts of the whole Catholic world to the Church.

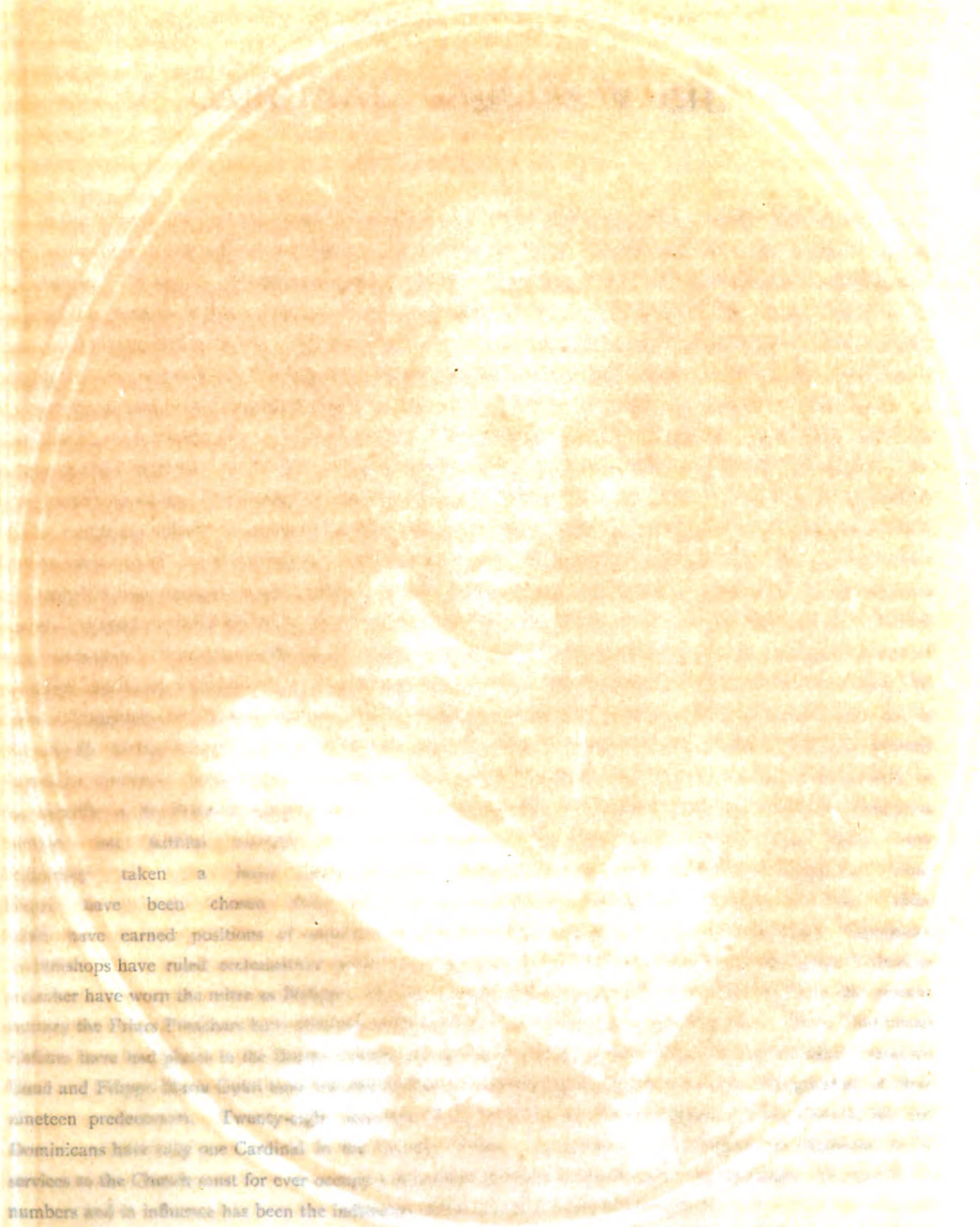
Brief as has been the tenure of office held by the Cardinal-Prefect, he has been occupied with a series of ecclesiastical problems. The evangelisation of Central Africa, by utilising the discoveries of recent explorers, was one of the first works undertaken by Leo XIII. And that work has been placed under the direction of the Congregation of the Propaganda. Watchful for the salvation of souls the then Pontiff saw an opportunity for the Church in the new condition of things which had arisen in Eastern Europe, and the attention of the Congregation is even now occupied with providing for the spread of the Faith in the liberated provinces of the Turkish Empire, in providing a Catholic system for Bulgaria and Roumelia to counteract the Greek schism, stimulated to a meretricious activity by Russian influence.

But the great achievement of Cardinal Simeoni has been the successful settlement of the Armenian schism which for a generation has scandalised the Church. His predecessor, Cardinal Franchi, had used all his diplomatic tact in vain to bind the Ottoman Government to its solemn promises, and the Holy See had used all the resources at its command to bring back the rebellious Armenians to their obedience to authority. At Rome three successive Prefects of the Propaganda had known the venerable figure of Antonio Hassoun, the Armenian Patriarch, Antonio Pietro IX., being an exile from his patriarchal see, at the Urban College, while a rebellious suffragan, supported by the Ottoman authority, claimed, and claimed in vain, the right to the exercise of spiritual dominion over the Armenian Catholics. Monsignor Kupelion, the contumacious schismatic of a few months ago, is now a repentant child of the Church, and the exiled Patriarch at Rome is now acknowledged by the Ottoman Government as the ecclesiastical chief of the Armenian Catholics. It was only in his last Encyclical that His Holiness Leo XIII. was able to announce that the erring Prelate of the East had at last acknowledged the dependence of the Armenian Church on the Holy See, and within a few weeks the Ottoman Government was induced to renounce its former attitude towards the Supreme Pontiff on the question of the Armenian schism. On Holy Thursday last Monsignor Kupelion personally paid the homage of obedience to the Holy Father, and on the eve of Low Sunday, in solemn ecclesiastical state, surrounded by the Cardinals, His Holiness received the submission of the schismatic Patriarch and granted him the episcopal dignity. But as an instance of the power wielded by the Propaganda, the mode of his reconciliation is instructive. Before he could be dispensed from the consequences of his schismatic conduct, and restored to full communion with the Roman See, it was a necessary preliminary that he should submit himself to the Prefect of the Propaganda. Characteristically mild in his rule, as he is in personal disposition, Cardinal Simeoni received the penitent Prelate with paternal affection. In accordance with the mode of procedure of the Propaganda, the conduct of the Prelate had been brought under the consideration of the Congregation. The important affairs of all the sees and missions under the jurisdiction follow the same simple course of trial and adjudication. They are at first submitted to a standing committee—by whose members they are arranged in proper form for consideration, and the case to be adjudged having undergone the preliminary revision, is submitted to the Consultors, who pronounce their mature opinion. In printed form this is laid individually before each Cardinal of the Propaganda, at least ten days before the Congregation is summoned to consider the case, and the Cardinals are then in full possession of all sides of the question to be determined; and on the facts and circumstances, in accordance with the doctrine and discipline of the Church, they deliver judgment. By this process the schism of Monsignor Kupelion had been condemned and by the judgment of the Propaganda had he been cut off from communion with the Roman See. On his

repentance his first duty was to formally acknowledge the validity of the judgments pronounced against him, and to express his contrition and desire to return to the unity of the Church. And this done, Cardinal Simeoni was enabled to relieve him from all the censures imposed upon him, he having been, as a test of his obedience, commanded to spend a period of retreat in a Redemptorist monastery. Thus formally freed from the taint of schism, Monsignor Kupelion was permitted to render homage to the Sovereign-Pontiff in person. The reconciliation of the schismatic Armenians to the Church, and the restoration of the venerable Patriarch to the unfettered exercise of his patriarchal authority, are an auspicious ending to the first year of the Prefecture of Cardinal Simeoni at the Propaganda, and but a prophecy of other triumphs to be achieved by the Church. For however events may for a time hinder the spread of the Faith, or hamper the mission of the Church on earth, triumph must come, though it may come, as all Christian triumph has, through suffering. And if simple piety, patient perseverance, gentle persuasiveness, and rigid justice can move the foes of the Faith into toleration of its liberty, Cardinal Simeoni will be the Apostle of success. But, even though he may not see the submission of the spoilers of the sanctuary to the High Priest of Christendom, the Propaganda must and will live, for it is the depository of the gifts of the Holy Spirit, and the citadel whence floats the flag bearing to the world the command of the Master to teach all nations, baptising them in the 'Name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.'



El card. Garcia Gil, obispo de Zamora.



The Dominican Cardinal is His Eminence *Don* *Gaspar Gil*, like so many of the great *Dominicans* *Salvatore*, in the diocese of *Lugo*, on the 14th of *June* *1871*, *life of a religious is eventless and stirring* *numbers and in influence has been the*



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CARDINAL GARCIA Y GIL.

In the hope, to use his own words, that they would "become the true torches of the faith of the world," Pope Honorius confirmed the foundation of the Order of Friars Preachers, nearly seven centuries ago, by S. Dominic. The secular historians call the period the "Dark Ages," and yet the enthusiastic Valentian priest founded the great religious community which bears his name for no other purpose than to give light to the world, and to promulgate the love of his neighbour. "To labour indefatigably for the spiritual amelioration of their neighbours" was the first and principal precept which S. Dominic impressed upon his followers. The hope of Pope Honorius has been gloriously fulfilled in the lustre which the Dominicans have given to the Church. A long line of zealous apostles of Catholic truth and brilliant orators of the Church has made Christianity the debtor of the illustrious community. Since its institution there never has been a generation in which it did not give to the cause of the Christian Faith men of zeal, erudition, and eloquence. It was amongst the earliest of the religious Orders which supplied great ecclesiastics and prelates for the service of the Holy See, which is the service of the Christian religion. Saints stud its muster-roll, and it still bestows its gifts of saintly souls and high intellects on the Catholic nations. Spain, France, Italy, Germany—every land in Europe and the peoples beyond the Ural Mountains have all been indebted to the Father of the Order of S. Dominic for faith and civilisation. From its cloisters have emerged the most luminous expositions of the celestial science of theology, and it can claim the *éclat* of having given to the world the profoundest Christian thinker since the days of Augustine—S. Thomas Aquinas. Albertus Magnus was another of the intellectual Dominicans, and in the schools of the Order Vincent de Beauvais gathered that universal erudition which astonished the most learned of his time. S. Antony of Florence, and S. Vincent Ferrier, in the Calendar of the Church, testify to the sanctity of the Friars Preachers, as well as to their learning. Originally instituted to serve the Church as humble but faithful teachers of her doctrine, the Dominicans have from their very beginning taken a large share in the government of the Christian kingdom. Four Popes have been chosen from their midst; seventy Cardinals, wearers of the white habit, have earned positions of eminence in the Apostolic Senate; nearly two hundred Dominican Archbishops have ruled ecclesiastical provinces, and nearly nine hundred disciples of the great Valentian preacher have worn the mitre as Bishops. In the councils and the government of the Church in the present century the Friars Preachers have obtained a liberal share of the dignities of the Church. Three Dominican Fathers have had places in the Sacred College during the Pontificate of Pope Pius IX., and Cardinal Francisco Gaud and Filippo Maria Guidi have left behind them as sterling reputations as the most distinguished of their nineteen predecessors. Twenty-eight members of the Order are at present Bishops of the Church, but the Dominicans have only one Cardinal in the Sacred College. A community of religious so illustrious in its services to the Church must for ever occupy a prominent position in the history of Catholicism. Its growth in numbers and in influence has been the indication of the progress of the Church itself.

The Dominican Cardinal is His Eminence Emanuel Garcia y Gil, Archbishop of Saragossa. Cardinal Garcia y Gil, like so many of the great Dominican dignitaries, is a Spaniard by birth, for he was born at San Salvatore, in the diocese of Lugo, on the 14th of March, 1802. Of his early career there is little to tell, for the life of a religious is eventless, and stirring episodes seldom disturb the serenity of a monastery. Proud in his parentage, he had in his youth the advantage of careful literary and religious training. The influences that surrounded him were of an intensely religious character, for he was born near the famous shrine of S. James of Compostella. Spain has always been a favourite home of the Dominicans, and the Spanish disciples of the

founder of the Friars Preachers have been amongst the most eminent for their piety and their scholastic acquirements. Houses of the Order are spread over the whole of the Peninsula, and hardly a diocese in Spain is without its community of Dominicans, whose schools are the seats of higher education in their respective districts. In the archiepiscopal province of Santiago the families of the Garcias and the Gils had been for generations devoted children of the Church, and the memory of the oldest inhabitant of the province could not in the beginning of the present century look back to the period when a Garcia or a Gil had not held some ecclesiastical dignity. The Dominican monasteries had always been their favourite schools. A distinguished Dominican, a relative and a namesake of the future Cardinal, Don Rodriguez Gil, was, in the youth of Emanuel, Bishop of Lugo, one of the most ancient sees in the province. Near Lugo the family of the Garcia-Gils was located, and at the desire of the future Bishop of Lugo, as much as in obedience to good old family traditions, young Emanuel was sent to pursue his studies at the Dominican school. Here his taste for the "Divine Science" developed itself, and before he had attained manhood he was learned in theology and looked up to as one of the coming lights of the Dominican Order. In addition to his theologic studies, he was addicted to scientific research, and obtained a high reputation as a Latinist. During the days of his studentship his country was disturbed by the violence of invasion and the disorder of political restlessness, and during the military occupation of the district of Santiago, in which the famous Badajoz is situated, the religious houses suffered and the students were scattered. The brethren of the religious Orders and the students of the schools found welcome refuges in the houses of the grandees, and the Gils were distinguished by their hospitality. Members of the family were engaged in the glorious resistance of the Spanish people to the Napoleonic invasion, and their names are associated with the heroic deliverance of their country from a foreign yoke. The Gils were a wealthy family, and young Emanuel was, at all events, educated with the traditions of charity to guide him in his future life, for his parents were conspicuous in alleviating the distress caused by the war. It was shortly after the end of the war, his home education being completed, that young Emanuel became a pupil of the Dominicans, with the express purpose of joining the Order of Preachers; and thence he found his way to the Collegiate Seminary of San Lorenzo, the training school for the priesthood in the diocese of Lugo. He distinguished himself so brilliantly that he easily acquired the degree of Doctor of Divinity, and in his ordination was attached to the house of his Order in the diocese. His career as a Dominican priest was that of a teacher and preacher for many years. The Spaniards are naturally eloquent, and Fra Garcia Gil was not the least eloquent among the preachers of his Order. But as a theologian, a thoughtful, rather than an eloquent exponent of Catholic doctrine, it was that his reputation was acquired. Where piety is nothing novel, and Faith is an element of ordinary life, the pursuit of a religious career is nothing remarkable, and exceptional holiness alone becomes conspicuous. But Fra Garcia y Gil, early in his ecclesiastical career, had acquired a reputation for sanctity which added greatly to the influence of his preaching and his success in teaching. After several years spent in the ordinary duties of a Friar Preacher he became one of the professors in the College of San Lorenzo, where he ultimately became Vice-Rector. Meanwhile his relative, Don Rodriguez Gil, had emerged from the Dominican cloister to become Bishop of Lugo, and the occasional sermons delivered by Dr. Garcia y Gil had attracted to him the attention of the chiefs of the Church in Spain. Queen Isabella, whatever may be said of her political schemes or of her personal character, was, at all events, sincerely devoted to the interests of the Church, and in exercising the privilege of recommending or "presenting" ecclesiastical dignities accorded to the monarchs of Spain by the Holy See, was seldom influenced by any other consideration than the needs of religion, and the purely ecclesiastical qualifications of the candidates selected by her.

In 1853 the See of Badajoz became vacant, and more to his own surprise than to that of anybody else, Her Majesty recommended the learned Dominican, Fra Garcia Gil, to the vacant bishopric. In the diocese in which he had lived all his life, the news of the Royal favour—which was directed, of course, by ecclesiastical advice from the high Church dignitaries of the kingdom—was received with great joy, and by the youth of the College with regret at the loss of the Vice-Rector, who was beloved for the mildness of his sway, and the affectionate character of his relations with the students, as much as he was admired for his profound erudition. At Rome the nomination made by the Queen went through the usual process of rigid scrutiny by the Cardinals

of the Propaganda, who unanimously reported in favour of the candidate for the episcopal direction of the historic see. On the 23rd of December, in the year 1853, he was preconised by His Holiness Pope Pius IX., to the See of Badajoz. His consecration took place on the 23rd of April, 1854, in the Cathedral of his native diocese, his namesake, the Bishop of Lugo, taking part in the solemn ceremony, which was witnessed by the nobility and the grandees of the province, and was the occasion of many demonstrations of affection from the members of the Dominican Order, and the clergy of the diocese, many of whom had been trained for their sacred office under his guidance. In the picturesque fashion which obtains in Spain the advent of the new Bishop to his diocese was the occasion of a public holiday and reception at Badajoz. The nobles and the peasants of the city and its neighbourhood, headed by the dignitaries and clergy of the Cathedral, went out to meet him and his enthronisation took place amid a scene of picturesque splendour. The diocese was administered by the new Prelate with great success, and the increase of devotion which manifested itself among the population was the prominent result of his administration. Four years as Bishop of Badajoz marked him out for further promotion in the Church. He had received from the Queen Isabella the Grand Cross of the American Order of Isabella the Catholic; and his services to the general progress of his province had endeared him to the laity. In Spain the life of the ecclesiastical dignitary is not that of a mere religious. The Bishop is the leading citizen of his diocese, although he does not hold any civil office, and is the chief of almost all important social or educational movements. The Concordat of 1851 had clearly defined the civil rights and the civil dignity of the members of the Spanish hierarchy, and by giving them a recognised place in the State had consolidated their authority and increased their influence. The Court of Isabella regarded the Catholic hierarchy almost as the highest order of the Spanish nobility. In a country where rank holds so high an influence, where even the Castilian peasant holds his blood to be as pure and his native nobility as indisputable as that of the monarch, high position is a perilous gift and demands the constant exercise of high qualities for its retention. Dr. Garcia y Gil took his full share in the public movements of his district, but in his private life still adhered to the rigid rules of his Order. He was still a Dominican, though he wore the mitre and carried the crozier.

In 1858, still at the desire of Queen Isabella, Monsignor Garcia y Gil was called to the higher dignity of Archbishop of the See of Saragossa. Famous in history Saragossa is also famous in its Catholic traditions. In a sense it is an Apostolic See, for the first community of Christians was founded there, in the *Cæsarea Augusta* of the Romans, by the Apostle S. James. In the Catholic traditions of Saragossa is preserved a legend of one of the first miraculous appearances of the Blessed Virgin. S. James, nearing the ancient city, gathered around him a number of the faithful, and as they knelt in prayer for the conversion of Spain, the Mother of the Saviour, who was still living at Jerusalem, appeared amongst them, bade them build a chapel on a spot where they would find a pillar, and promised that the Faith would never depart from the city. Thus is the tradition still preserved at Saragossa of the origin of the Chapel of Our Lady of the Pillar (*Nuestra Señora del Pilar*), still a shrine whither Catholic pilgrims journey to ask the intercession of the Mother of God. Ecclesiastical historians disputed for a long time the authenticity of the tradition, and it was not until the year 1723 that the Archbishop obtained from the Sacred Congregation of Rites permission to mention the pious and ancient tradition in the lessons of the second nocturn in the services of the Church. Throughout the whole kingdom of Arragon, of which Saragossa is the Metropolitan See, the authorisation was received with the greatest enthusiasm at the time. The antiquity of the Church of Saragossa, and its illustrious position in the history of Spanish Catholicism, have been placed beyond all doubt by the references to it found in the works of S. Cyprian, who mentions one of its early Bishops, Felix, as distinguished amongst the Spanish Fathers of the Church as being one of the faithful cultivators and defenders of the Truth. Celebrated synods were held within its walls in the early ages of the Church, and even under the dominion of the Moor the Catholics of Saragossa preserved their faith with such fidelity as to evoke the admiration of their new masters, who tolerated the exercise of their religion. The recommendation of Dr. Garcia y Gil to the ancient see—an honour coveted by the Spanish Episcopate—was a high tribute from the Sovereign to the character of the Dominican Prelate; and at Rome the nomination was favourably received.

The tenure of his office as Archbishop was doomed to be sadly eventful. In 1861 the cholera ravaged his

diocese, and taxed all the Christian charity and pious zeal of the Archbishop and his clergy. The Archbishop denuded himself of almost all his worldly goods in succouring the poor, and his good deeds, unostentatiously done, were the subject of admiration throughout the whole of the Peninsula. When the plague had disappeared, his holy disinterestedness received a mark of favour from the Sovereign, who decorated him; and the people of Arragon presented to him an address expressive of their gratitude and admiration. In the history of the Spanish Church the year 1862 was an eventful one, for it was the year of the pilgrimage of the Cardinals, Archbishops, and Bishops of Spain to Rome to present their homage to the Holy Father, and to take part in the solemn canonisation of the Japanese Martyrs. The progress of the Prelates to Barcelona, whence they embarked, was royal in the public enthusiasm by which it was marked, and that of the Metropolitan of Arragon was perhaps one of the most enthusiastic. At each town on his way Monsignor Garcia Gil was received with demonstrations of affection, and a large deputation journeyed to Barcelona to bid him God speed on the voyage. In Rome he was received with marked distinction by Pius IX., who eight years afterwards again summoned him to the Eternal City to give the service of his learning and his wise counsel to the deliberations of the Fathers of the Church at the Æcumenical Council.

In the revolutions which disturbed the kingdom during his episcopate he took no part; but he was always on the side of the legitimate monarchy. The troubles disturbed his diocese occasionally, especially during the year of fierce conflict, 1874, which followed the fall of Castelar, and the *pronunciamiento* of General Pavia. The Saragossans rose in revolt against the new Government of force and compromise, raised the barricades, formed a junta, and held themselves in readiness to accept some constituted authority as soon as the nation had called some settled government into existence. The Saragossan rising was suppressed in blood, and the intervention of the Archbishop on behalf of his people saved the city from the vengeance of the infuriated soldiery of the new Government. Spain was hungering for rest from the conflicts waged by all the sections of Republicans and the Carlists, when the promise of peace came in the proclamation of Alfonso XII. as king. The Archbishop of Saragossa, rejoicing with his people, was amongst the first to welcome the return of order and authority in the person of the young Monarch, and readily tendered his fealty to the monarchy which he represented. In the peaceful administration of his see, Monsignor Garcia Gil pursued his quiet career, when an honour, long spoken of, was conferred upon him by the Holy Father.

On the 12th of March, 1877, Pope Pius IX. elevated to the sacred purple eleven dignitaries—the largest number he ever selected at one Consistory. Foremost among the eleven was Monsignor Gil, whose duties were so absorbing and pressing in his own diocese that he was unable to be present, and accordingly an Ablegate, and a cavalier of the Noble Guard, were specially deputed to carry the insignia of the highest dignity in the Church to the Archbishop of Saragossa. Towards the end of March, with traditional ceremonies, the Ablegate was received at the Cathedral, where, surrounded by his clergy, and a large number of the prelates of Spain, Monsignor Gil was invested with the insignia of his august order. Great were the rejoicings in his diocese and among his people. Addresses of congratulation and felicitation came pouring in from royalty, from the nobility, the episcopacy, and above all from his own clergy and people. In February, 1878, Cardinal Gil assisted at the Conclave at Rome, and was warm in his support of the selection of Cardinal Pecci as the successor of Pius IX. His penetration was not mistaken. It is said that the Spanish Cardinals were much influenced by the reasoning of their brother of Saragossa. After the coronation of Leo XIII. Cardinal Gil returned to his arch-diocese, where he continues to devote himself to the best interests of his flock. He has been constituted a member of several of the Sacred Congregations, and there is no member of the Sacred College whose opinion is more valued by his colleagues than that of the Cardinal-Archbishop of Saragossa. Among the members of the Spanish hierarchy there are few more learned and more zealously pious, more richly laden with the pure spirit of Catholicism, than Emanuel, Cardinal Garcia y Gil.

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CARDINAL MONTAU ET L'ALPHABET

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CARDINAL MONACO LA VALLETTA.

It was said to be one of the characteristics of the Pontificate of Pope Pius IX. that he lived to surround his throne with the members of the ancient houses of the Italian States, and give high lineage a conspicuous place in the hierarchy of the Church. And it was certainly true that during his sovereignty the Papal Court was more brilliant in its belongings than at any time since the occupation of the Pontifical States by Napoleon I. Of noble lineage himself Pius IX. saw that, to the outward world, at all events, in these days of rapid rise and decline of dynasties, the temporal sovereignty had something of *éclat* to gain by the presence at the Papal Court of the representatives of the ancient nobility of the Italian States. To this penchant of the late Pontiff's has been attributed the distinguished position occupied early in his career by one of the youngest members of the Sacred College. As a fact, the Court of Pius IX. was an exceptionally brilliant one in the midst of States where the mediæval taste for the advantages of rank and social greatness still held its own amidst the general decay of the homage paid to ancestry in the rest of Europe. No one even among the captious critics of the Papacy, who find the lowest possible mundane motive for every act of a Pope, supposed that in pursuing such a policy the great Pontiff who ruled the Church for a whole generation was actuated by any vain passion for, or worship of, rank for itself, or any desire to flatter the vanity of the Roman patricians. But when thrones were being everywhere undermined he knew the influence which high position and ancient rank still held over the human mind when worthily upheld, and the value of such advantages to a temporal dynasty which was not founded on any sort of family ambition. And in the turn which affairs were taking in Italy it was of some importance to alienate the ancient nobility from the monarchy of the Revolution. While the nobility of the other States too readily accepted a change of masters, it was at all events worth trying the experiment whether the upper orders of Italian society had enough of *esprit de corps* left to remain faithful to the oldest dynasty in Europe. And in the experiment Pius IX. succeeded in demonstrating that in the Papal sovereignty, even when shorn by force of its territory, there remained in Italy a centre of attraction. More than in any other Court of Europe was nobility of birth and olden lineage represented by the officials of the Vatican and the Quirinal. The Major Domo of the Pontiff, the premier prelate of the Palace, was a marquis of an old Siennese race, Monsignor Ricci Parracciani, noble in mind as he was in mein. The Secret Almoner—an office once held by Prince Hohenlohe,—Monsignor Sanminiatielli, ranked high among the Pisa patricians. The Marquis Negrotto was Ambassadorial Secretary, and even the attendant pages of the Pope were members of noble families. As it was in the higher offices of the Papal Court, so it was in the executive departments. Most of those courtiers were, however, ecclesiastics or members of the prelatures composing the Pontifical family. But all remained faithful to the beloved Pontiff in the days of the bitterest adversity of the Sovereign of the Roman States.

Cardinal Monaco La Valletta could not be said to owe his advancement to the mere accident or good fortune of his noble birth. Raffaele Monaco La Valletta had no particular reason, except the desire for a religious life, to enter the service of the Holy See. He was born at Aquila on the 23rd of February, 1827. His parents were noble—for the Vallettas were an ancient race as well—but they were also wealthy, and Raffaele was born to a fortune in worldly goods which most young noblemen in Italy might envy. If a position in the fashionable world had been any inducement to him, he possessed every requisite to obtain the obsequious admiration of what passes for "Society" now-a-days in Italy; for in addition to his lineage and his wealth he was endowed with a handsome person. But from his boyhood the young noble evinced a disposition for the ecclesiastical life. He was still young; he had, in fact, barely passed the period of boyhood, when he came to

Rome to study for the sacred ministry, and became a student in the Clementine Academy for Noble Ecclesiastics. While yet a student he secured the affection of Pope Pius, who, attracted only by his engaging manners and his scholastic reputation, took an interest in him. At the Academy Raffaele proved a brilliant student. He was an eloquent Latinist, an industrious and patient student of science, and a passionate lover of literature and philosophy. But he gave the best gifts of his intellect to the study of theology and patrology; and before he had reached manhood had acquired a profound knowledge of theological science. In the Consensus, held in presence of the Pontiff, he distinguished himself so brilliantly by a thesis, *In Universam Theologiam*, that he secured the friendship as well as the affection of Pope Pius. He was at once selected for the service of the Holy See. When he had attained the canonical age, he received Holy Orders and before he had completed his twenty-sixth year he received the purple and the title of Monsignor. It was no honorary distinction in his case. In the ecclesiastical departments he soon shewed such ripe knowledge of Canon Law, such administrative talent, and such hearty zeal in the service of the Church, that while still young he was appointed to the important post of Assessor to the Roman and Universal Inquisition—a Congregation of which the Pope himself is Prefect. For so young a man—he was barely thirty years of age—the position he had attained was remarkable. The Congregation of the Inquisition stands in order at the head of the Committees of Cardinals among whom the work of the Church is apportioned. It takes cognisance of all matters appertaining to the Faith; it is charged to examine into and decide upon all teachings supposed to be heretical or dangerous to morals or true doctrine, and to condemn such expressed opinions as are found to be antagonistic to the Apostolic Faith as held by the Roman Church, which is the depository and distributor of all faith. Infallible in matters of faith, when called upon to declare the mind of the Church *ex-cathedra*, the Supreme Pontiff is the president of the tribunal which judges of offences against true doctrine. Erudition of the profoundest kind is the essential qualification for membership of the Congregation, and the members are always selected from the most eminent of the Cardinals. The Consultors are the great theologians of the Church, taken from all orders of the ecclesiastical body. A sufficient indication of the high qualifications demanded by the Inquisition is to be found in the composition of the present consultative body, which includes the Secretary of the Propaganda, the Secretary of Foreign Ecclesiastical Affairs, the Under-Secretary of State, the Vicar-General of the Dominicans, the Vicar-General of the Conventual Minors, the Ex-Prior of the Carmelites, the learned Capuchin Scardiani, Father Smith, the Benedictine Orientalist, and other ecclesiastics equally distinguished in Catholic literature and science. The Assessor is the chief of the Consultors, who are the theologians of the Cardinals composing the Congregation. Monsignor Monaco La Valletta justified the choice made in his person to the onerous post by the services he rendered to the Congregation.

During the years in which he occupied the post of Assessor, the questions which engaged the Inquisition were those of the greatest moment to the preservation of the Catholic Faith. Materialism was prevalent in Germany and France, and Latitudinarianism was one of the theologic vices even in countries hitherto enthusiastically Catholic. The propagandism of Freemasonry was endangering Catholic society by the teaching of a system of morality which was outside Revelation, and the Congregation was called upon to examine into and to pronounce judgment. In accordance with the initiative of this Congregation, the Vatican Council of 1869 was called to pronounce with the voice of the whole Church the decisions which, acting as a Tribunal of Doctrinal Equity, the Congregation of the Inquisition had frequently promulgated. The duties of the office imposed upon Monsignor La Valletta brought him into constant communication with Pius IX., among whose personal friends he was already numbered, and, as the years went by the admiration of the illustrious Pontiff for the zeal and intellectual acquirements of the Assessor was heightened into something like enthusiasm. His Holiness only expressed the desire of the Cardinals of the Inquisition when he determined, in 1868, at the Consistory of the 13th of March, to raise Monsignor La Valletta to the Cardinalate. The Cardinal elect was only forty-one years of age when he received the hat from the hands of the Pontiff. A high honour was now reserved for the youngest of the princes of the Church. He was named Cardinal-Vicar of the Apostolic See—the acting Bishop of the city of Rome. Occupied with the affairs of the Universal Church, the Supreme Pontiff has from time immemorial delegated the affairs of the Roman diocese to the Cardinal-Vicar, who is endowed with all the episcopal authority of the Pope in his own diocese. Formerly,

the Cardinal-Vicar possessed an administrative office of a secular character as well, for he was sometimes called upon to unite with his episcopal duties those of the civil governor of the Eternal City. As Vicar of Rome, he possesses the spiritual charge over the whole Roman population, is authorised to regulate the discipline of the clergy, the religious education of the laity, and is bound to watch over the moral life of the inhabitants of the capital of the Catholic world. The supervision of the religious houses, of the institutions of charity, of the churches, of the schools, seminaries and colleges, is his. By ancient proscriptive right he is entitled, and he alone, to ordain all priests who receive Holy Orders in Rome, and the right extends to the ordination of the priesthood of the Oriental Catholic Churches. Before the Pope was deprived of his possessions, the Cardinal-Vicar was president of the ecclesiastical tribunals of Rome, which, however, had jurisdiction over ecclesiastics only, and did not interfere with the authority of the civil courts over the lay population of Rome.

It is computed that, although the city of Rome is divided into only fifty-four parishes, it possesses at least 350 churches; and of its 200,000 or more inhabitants, 1,500 belong to the secular clergy and 500 to the religious Orders, while 2,000 women are dedicated to a religious, and over 1,000 youths are students of the colleges. Almost every street contains some religious or charitable institution or poor school, which are all under the authority of the Cardinal-Vicar. The Cardinal-Vicar's Cathedral is the Basilica of St. John Lateran, "the Mother of all the Churches of the City and of the World," in which five Œcumenical Councils have been held. It is at St. John's, that the Cardinal-Vicar conducts the ordinations of the clergy for the service of the Faith throughout the whole world. The administration of the Pontifical diocese was a heavy charge for so young a prelate, but while Pius IX. was sovereign in the Sacred City the burden was light to bear, for the ecclesiastical organisation was perfect and undisturbed by any invasion of foreign State. With the entry of the Sardinians into Rome, however, desolation was brought to the Apostolic diocese. The churches were despoiled, the benefices of the clergy sequestered, and the right of the Cardinal-Vicar to care for the salvation of souls was disputed by the usurping State. Outrages on the practice and blasphemies against the precepts of religion were daily events in the desecrated city. All the Cardinal-Vicar could do was to protest, and this he did at the risk of his liberty, for he was no longer the spiritual delegate of the Sovereign of Rome but the subject of the King of Italy.

The occupation of Rome by the Italian Government was not only a disaster to the Universal Church by the desecration of its sanctuary, but was an act of warfare upon the spiritual government of the city. An impoverished and greedy government looked with hungry eyes on the treasures which adorned the shrines of the primitive saints. Its officials coveted the stately edifices devoted to Catholic education and the service of religion; and having the power on their side, no scruples of common honesty, or sentimental regard for the rights of conscience, or the respect due to religion restrained the avarice of the new rulers of Rome. The students were driven into the streets, the children of the poor rendered homeless; the hospitals even were despoiled. Protest after protest came from the Pope and from his Vicar, but the nations whose Holy City had been despoiled made no sign. Infidelity and heresy crept in and flaunted themselves ostentatiously and sacrilegiously in front of the Catholic altars, and a hideous traffic in human souls has been inaugurated in the name of "Liberty." Public writers, who look upon faith as superstition, and a belief in religion as an æsthetic kind of Paganism, sneer at what they call Catholic intolerance in objecting to the presence of Protestantism in Rome. But Protestantism in Rome is not a fair attempt at propagandism in any sense, and even if it were, from the Catholic point of view the Cardinal-Archbishop of Westminster would have as much right to celebrate the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass in St. Paul's as any sect of Protestants has to publicly celebrate its worship in Rome. Rome belongs to the Catholics of the world.

In these days the office of Cardinal-Vicar is a dangerous honour for its possessor. The Italian Government having discovered that the loss of its territory nor the spoliation of its sanctuaries cannot deprive the Church of its life, has begun a warfare as unholy as it is illogical upon its spiritual character. And yet the Italians claim to be Catholics. The people, however, must be separated from their rulers. Although, no doubt, the existence of the Sardinian domination over all Italy is tolerated from a sense of gratitude for the share taken by the Sardinian soldiery in relieving the Italian States of foreign rule, the monarchy of Sardinia has not, even in its character of Liberator, obtained the affection of the Italian populations. As an Administration

it has been a failure, for it has not lightened the burthens nor improved the prospects of the people. They cried for bread, and the Sardinians have given them a stone. They asked for deliverance from foreign political yoke—their deliverers placed round their necks the more intolerable chains of pauperism and infidelity. They were poor before—now they are insolvent. They possessed money before the Sardinian domination—now their only coins are promises to pay. One reign, that of Victor Emmanuel, has sufficed to produce throughout Italy a feeling of profound discontent with the change of masters, and has thereby produced a new necessity for the Italian Government. Reasonable men would naturally suppose that under existing circumstances the statesmen of Italy would make a determined effort to improve the material condition of the people, and to recover the national credit. But that plain system of common honesty is not available. The *régime* which rules in Italy is the creature of Socialism and the Socialists form the Frankenstein which the monarchy cannot control. They are the agitators, and the price they demand for their services to the monarchy is the abolition of the spiritual as well as the temporal power of the Papacy. The doctrinaires or vapid conspirators who demand such a price for their adherence have either never read or have forgotten the lessons of Italian history. There never has been a time, from the foundation of the Holy See by Peter the Apostle, that the spiritual power of the Supreme Pontiffs has been lessened by a combination of temporal circumstances. From the day when the Author of Christianity gave Peter the headship of His Church that headship has grown in the influence of its spiritual character. Captives or exiles from their sees, the power of the Popes has been untouched, for the world of believing Christians hear the voice of Peter whether it comes to them in the tones of the captive or in those of the monarch seated on his throne, and they obey its mandates. Were the Pope wandering about the world a shoeless fugitive from persecution, his authority would still be undiminished, and the obedience yielded to him precisely the same as if he exercised his jurisdiction, an unfettered potentate, from the Vatican. Warfare upon the spiritual power has been made before. Kings and emperors have combined to repudiate it, and made obedience to the Pope of Rome in things spiritual, treason to the State, punishable by death or by imprisonment!—and men have defied death and imprisonment, and still obeyed. The Italy of to-day is weak in comparison with the combinations which have made war against the spiritual authority of the Popes in the past. There was something manly in the utter repudiation of the spiritual power which characterised the hostility of England and of the German princes to the religious jurisdiction of the Holy See. There is nothing either manly or courageous in the attitude assumed by the Italian Ministers.

While throughout Italy the *régime* of the Sardinian monarchy is barely tolerated, in Rome it assumed the form of unjustifiable aggression. The Sardinian statesmen may have a historic claim to the gratitude of the rest of Italy for their share in ridding its people of foreign rule, though that share was not a very considerable one—for Italy had been virtually freed on the field of Magenta—but no such plea can be put in in defence of the Italian usurpation in the Papal States. Pius IX. was no foreign prince; nor was he a native tyrant. His subjects sent forth no cry to Europe asking for deliverance, nor did they invite the Sardinians to become their masters. Rome itself never has been the possession of Italy, and was never its capital. Before the Popes became its sovereigns it was the capital, not of Italy, but of the Western Empire. When the Pope became king, Rome became the capital, not of any nation or race, but of the Christian world. Unjustified by historical precedent, by popular opinion, or by any moral or constitutional right, the occupation of the Papal City by the new masters of Italy was and remains an undisguised usurpation. As a usurpation its policy towards the Holy See has been conducted since the year 1870. Every attempt at “conciliation” made by the Italian Government has been but an effort to obtain a recognition of its right to rule, while still treating the Pontiff as a dispossessed sovereign. Unfortunately, even in the Catholic States of Europe, projects of “conciliation” have been used to disguise the actual situation of the Holy See. Its position and its attitude towards Italy and the rest of the world were defined by Pope Pius himself in a conversation with a distinguished Catholic publicist, M. de Maguelonne. The politicians at Paris and Turin had been speaking and writing of a Confederation of Italian States, with the Papacy at its head. This had been the dream of ardent Catholic minds in Italy itself, and to many of the political leaders in Catholic countries it seemed to offer a solution of the Roman question which, while securing peace to the Church, would surround the Papal throne with prestige. It was while Catholic Europe was for a time entranced with this dream that Pope Pius IX. said to the Belgian journalist:—

“The Pope confederated with Italy The Pope is the confederate of the world. The Pope an Italian prince—the President of a union of petty States! The Pope is the Pope. He has no nationality. He is the Vicar of Jesus Christ, and embraces every nation with an equal love.” Whatever the Pope possesses is not his in his character of temporal sovereign. Charlemagne endowed the Church, and not the Pontiff merely, with the territory which formed the Patrimony of Peter. The Church is a society composed of Christians of all nations and all races, and to them, and to them alone, do the territories of the Church belong. By the very nature of his inheritance as Chief of Catholicism, the Pontiff could not surrender the territorial rights of the Church, nor enter into any compromise with the spoilers. The guarantees offered by the Italian Government, and the laws which endow the Pontiff with a right to a pension from the Italian monarchy are and have been from the beginning valueless, for the Pontiff cannot sell the Patrimony of the body which he governs. In passing such laws the statesmen of Italy must have known that they were endorsing so much waste paper, and only aggravating, by parading their insincerity, the usurpation for which neither history nor necessity can find a justification.

Except in so far as the policy of the Italian statesmen interfered with the endowments of the Church and the religious and educational establishments under its charge, the Cardinal-Vicar has no direct interest, by virtue of his office, in the political aspects of the Roman question. But a continuous attack on the spiritual authority of the Pope as Bishop of Rome has become a portion of the policy of Italian statesmen, and as Vicar of the Bishop, Cardinal La Valletta has been necessarily engaged in constant contest with the aggression of the Sardinian monarchy. The conflict commenced with the establishment of the Italian Parliament in Rome. The Sacraments of the Church appear to be particularly objectionable to the Italian statesmen, and the Sacrament of Matrimony the most objectionable of all. Against marriage, as an act of religion, successive Italian Ministries have directed their antagonism. They desire to begin at the beginning in the elimination of religion from the national life. In destroying the sanctity of the marriage tie they seek to secularise the family and form domestic schools for the production of a race of civilised pagans. Whatever the avowed object, this has been the tendency of the Marriage Laws made by the Italian Parliament and imposed upon the Catholic people of Italy. When it was ordained by Parliament that only the civil ceremony of marriage could be recognised by law as securing the rights of the contracting parties, it became the duty of the Cardinal-Vicar, as administrator of the Primatial See of Italy, to provide against the possibility of the popular obedience to the new law being made the occasion for the abandonment of marriage as a Sacrament of the Church. To openly repudiate the Marriage Laws of the State, antagonistic as they were to the spirit of Catholic doctrine and practice, would have subjected the Catholics of Rome to grievous pains and penalties which they could ill endure. The Cardinal-Vicar, therefore, acting with the concurrence of the Sovereign-Pontiff, exhorted his people, through their clergy, to give to the Lord the things that were His in the first instance, and to render unto Cæsar afterwards. It was enjoined upon all good Catholics to celebrate their marriages first according to the Sacramental usages of the Church, and then to register themselves according to the civil law. In Rome, even those nominal Catholics who repudiated the Pope in favour of the Sardinian king, obeyed the instruction of the Cardinal-Vicar, and the civil authorities became, not the ministers, as they desired to be, but the registrars of marriage. No Italian Catholic thinks of appearing before the civil authority on the marriage day until the blessing of the Church has been pronounced on his union. The first attack of the Italian Parliament on the Sacraments failed, or rather was thwarted and rendered abortive by the vigilance of the Cardinal-Vicar of Rome. As long as the law, which compelled Italians to declare themselves man and wife before the civil authority, was obeyed, all the purposes of civil marriage were fulfilled. The only object of the civil law is to secure all legal rights of the parties contracting, and the legitimacy of their issue, by a legal record of their marriage. The policy pursued by the Cardinal-Vicar and the bishops throughout Italy in no way interfered with the purposes of the civil contract, but the loyal conformity to the practice of the Church by the Catholics of Italy, their obedience to their pastors, and their proclamation thereby that they regarded marriage as a holy state, and the family as a sacred institution, exasperated their rulers still more against the Church. In their exasperation the rulers threw off all disguise of their motives, and revealed

that their object was not merely the civil security of the marriage contract, but the abolition of the Sacrament of Matrimony. That intrepid, but unsuccessful statesman, Mancini, endeavoured to supplement the matrimonial legislation of his predecessors by a new law which proposed to make participation in the religious ceremony before the civil contract had been signed a penal offence against the State. The Cardinal-Vicar again called upon his clergy to use their influence against the proposal, and such was the storm of indignation raised against this new invasion of the household by the State that Mancini's successor, Consorti, was compelled to abandon the project. Undeterred by past failures, another Italian Minister, Tajani, has taken up the crusade against the sacraments, and has determined to complete the outrage attempted by his predecessors. Boldly asserting the supremacy of the State over the Church in matters spiritual, he proposes that any priest celebrating a marriage before the performance of the civil ceremony, shall be punishable by imprisonment for six months, and that the parties marrying, and their witnesses, shall be punishable also by imprisonment for a lesser period. The Cardinal-Vicar is thus again placed in conflict with the civil power on a vital question of Catholic faith and administration. He has courageously taken up his arms as the champion of the Church, and summoned his people to war *à outrance* in defence of their ancient religion and the sanctity of home life.

As the spiritual father of the city, other cares devolved upon Cardinal La Valletta by the Sardinian invasion. He could only meet the desecration of the name of Liberty committed by the Protestant patrons of the Revolution by evoking the zeal of the Catholic population, and moving their charity to relieve the spiritual destitution which was threatened. The proselytisers who infested the city endeavoured, as they are endeavouring now, to bribe the parents of the poor children with gold. Of this abundant evidence has been given, and the godless State which rules in Rome protects the cowardly attempts to corrupt the Faith of the people. But although several Protestant places of worship have been erected in Rome, the people cannot be deluded from their allegiance. They may be bad Catholics, but they would rather be infidels than Protestants. Cardinal La Valletta met the irreligious invasion of his spiritual dominions by organising the laity for the protection of the Faith. Though the Sardinians have been nine years in Rome, Roman "society" avoids the Quirinal as a pest-house. The fervour that languished nine years ago has burst into a flame under the fiery zeal of the Cardinal-Vicar. Never was the education of the poor so carefully watched. The shepherd is not asleep, and the wolf prowls around the fold in vain.

Up to the fatal day in February, 1878, which deprived the Church of the presidency of the saintly Pius, the Bishop of Rome and his Vicar worked in the Church as men of one mind. And at the accession of the new occupant of the Apostolic See, the Cardinal-Vicar was affectionately requested to retain the high office in which he so faithfully served the cause of the Church. Pius IX. had protested in vain against the desecration of the city, and the warfare made on the souls of the helpless young. Leo XIII., among the first acts of his Pontificate, called attention to the sacrilegious profanation of the city, every inch of whose earth has been consecrated to some purpose of the Catholic Faith. Then he published his protest in a letter addressed to the Cardinal-Vicar. But protests are not the only weapons of Leo XIII. He has just called the faithful to arms against the infidel aggression, and to the Cardinal-Vicar, Monaco La Valletta, he has committed the direction of the campaign against the invasion of heresy, and the corruption of the young Romans. The last letter of the Holy Father to his Vicar eloquently repudiates the right of foreigners out of communion with the Roman Church to enter the Roman household for the purpose of leading away the children from the faith of their fathers, and inducing them to barter conscience for gold. And at the same time the Holy Father lays bare the hollowness of the professions of liberty by the statesmen and politicians whose policy has rendered the desecration of the Pontifical city possible, by exposing the attempts to prevent the freedom of Catholic teaching while according unlimited license to Protestant propagandism. Under the authority of the Cardinal La Valletta the Pontiff has placed an Apostolic Commission of Roman nobles and ecclesiastics who are charged to conduct the crusade against proselytism, and to provide for the preservation of the Faith of Rome in its citadel. The Commission has for its principal task "to acquire an accurate knowledge of the state of the Catholic schools in the different districts of Rome. To inform itself if by their number and extent they correspond to the needs and numbers of the children of both sexes who present themselves to receive instructions; to examine how and where they can be increased and

multiplied. In short, to see that the schools are intrusted to capable masters, who unite to proved good conduct the talent and the powers requisite to teach with satisfactory results." A noble example is set by the Pontiff to his Roman subjects by the endowment of the Commission from the Pontifical privy purse with the sum of £4,000 a year, and by the Cardinal-Vicar in the generous help he has already given. This is the message which Leo XIII. has sent to the Romans through the representative of the diocesan authority, and it bears an eloquent tribute to the faithfulness with which the people of the city have followed the fortunes of the Supreme Pastor:—

"We are already aware," writes the Pontiff, "that noble and illustrious families of the Roman aristocracy, to their great merit in the eyes of God, and with an honour heightened by the weighty difficulties against which they have continually to contend, have founded and maintained, at their own expense, several schools, where children of both sexes receive instruction suitable to their station of life, learn the Catholic Catechism, and are trained to the practice of the Christian virtues. These generous souls, with all those, who animated by the spirit of benevolence, have received from Providence a goodly portion of earthly riches, convinced of the necessity of providing Christian schools for youth, cannot fail to aspire to the honour of furnishing Us with the means to found and maintain them.

"In this glorious rivalry the Roman clergy will permit itself to be vanquished by none. The Catholic hierarchy has always been at the head of every work undertaken for the honour of God and good of souls, and the noble traditions of the Roman priesthood conspicuously attest how profoundly it has ever understood its sublime mission. Already every chapter of the patriarchal Basilicas have put their offerings into Our hands. We doubt not but that this example will lead to imitation. These offerings will be exclusively destined to the object, truly exalted and worthy of Our clergy, of procuring for the Roman people, not merely secular instruction, but the Christian education which is the fruitful seed of civilisation itself and of all social prosperity. If all cannot make gifts of money, all at least can lend their aid either in reminding parents of the very grave duty imposed upon them to rear their children in Christian principles and to keep them aloof from all that is offensive to their faith, or in devoting themselves personally to the function of schoolmaster by teaching the Catechism and distributing to the little ones the bread of the Divine Word.

"In this manner the Romans will shew themselves worthy of themselves, and will have the glory of imitating the devotedness and generosity of Catholics of other European countries, who, zealous for the faith of their ancestors, give splendid examples of unselfishness and of sacrifice to preserve Christian education in their schools. You yourself, Monsignor, who exhibit so much activity and vigilance for the salvation of souls, will not cease to recommend to all to apply themselves with a firm will, with a lively devotion, and a generous heart, to pursue the aim We set before Ourselves. Since We have fallen upon evil days, We should not permit ourselves to be overcome by the evil, but should rather triumph over evil by good."

The letter of the Sovereign-Pontiff sounded a tocsin to the Romans, and the fresh demonstration of Catholic opinion which it called forth was magnificent in its proportions. It was not directed against the Italian Government, but rather against one of the results of its rule. The Protestant sects, as has been indicated, used the liberty accorded them of desecrating Rome as a means of outraging the religion of the Romans. And yet the State made no war upon them. It rather protected them, and continues to protect them, in their profanation of the name of liberty. These people placard the walls of Rome with insulting attacks upon Catholic doctrine, and hold up to ridicule the devotions and the traditions of the Catholic people. One of the most poetical, as it is one of the most humanising elements in Catholic belief and practice, is the high place given to Mary, the Mother of the Saviour. She, the spotless Virgin-Mother, is a cardinal power in the Church. In its doctrine She is held up as the Mother of the Divine Founder of Christianity—the great and chief intercessor between mankind and the Saviour of the world, the one sinless child of the human race, perfect in all virtue, the mirror of true womanhood. The very place held by the Blessed Mother of Christ in the Church is itself one of the finest illustrations of its Divine origin. No organisation uninspired from Heaven could have so glorified before men human nature as an embodiment of the highest purity and the purest womanliness. In every land where the name of Christianity is known, the name of "Mary" touches the purest emotions of the soul. She, Mary, is to the Catholic the link that binds the hierarchy of Heaven to

suffering human society on earth. The Roman, however dissolute may be his life, however desperate his career, or cynical his belief, never loses his reverence for the name of "Mary." You may see the "Red Republican" coming from some secret meeting of Mazzinians, where he has been imprecating Pope and priest, take off his hat and cross himself as he passes by some street corner where stands in its niche the image of "Mary the Undeiled." In his boyhood he has been taught to fly to Her—Mother of Sorrows—in his tribulation; to see in Her the celestial idealisation of motherhood; to look to Her for maternal love when the mother who bore him and nourished him in her loving bosom shall have been turned to clay, and the statue at the street corner, if it does nothing else, recalls the memory of the time when a woman taught him tender lessons of human affection. It stirs the best part of human nature. The Roman of every degree and every age has learned to look to "Mary" as the succour of the suffering—the friend of all who require Her aid. She is the patron of infancy, and mothers lay their children at the foot of Her altar, praying that She who nursed the Divine Infant may protect the poor mother's offspring. The youth is taught to ask "Mary" to aid him in the attainment of the virtues which adorned the young life of the Divine Youth who disputed with the Doctors in the Temple. The maiden is induced to pray to Her whom the Angel declared to "be full of grace" and blessed among women, for the spotlessness of life which made Her worthy the great destiny of bearing the Saviour of the human race. The young bride implores "Mary" to obtain for her the wifely and motherly virtues which sanctified the home in Nazareth. The bridegroom beseeches the Spouse of Joseph to bring him the grace to guard the holiness of the family which he founds, as Joseph guarded the holiness of his household; and when troubles come, and death desolates the home, "Mary," the Woman of Sorrows, is the model of saintly resignation to the Divine Will. In sin and in shame this beautiful devotion to the Mother of Christ follows the Catholic, the Roman above all. The woman fallen from the state of womanly purity remembers that on the bosom of Mary the Magdalen wept out her shame; the hardened malefactor hopes that She who stood at the foot of the Cross, and heard the Absolution of the repentant thief, may intercede with Her Son for forgiveness for him. With every incident of life, Mary, the human Mother of God, is mingled as the Protectress, the Dispenser of Grace, or the Consoler. In desecrating the name, and impugning the holiness of "Mary the Immaculate," the Protestant preachers who, under the protection of the Italian Government, outrage Catholic feeling in Rome, trod upon dangerous ground. Yet the devotion to the Blessed Virgin, beautiful as it is from a merely mundane and non-theologic point of view, has been the chief subject of their ribald denunciations. Her name has been placarded on the walls of the Eternal City only to couple it with ridicule; Her character has been questioned by those preachers only to bring it down to the level of sinful human nature—for by dethroning "Mary" from her place in the Catholic mind, the Protestant proselytisers seek to dethrone Catholicity itself.

Cardinal Monaco La Valletta, however, knew the mind as he knows the lives of the Roman people, and knew that the outrages being daily offered in their midst to the "Saint of Saints" had only to be brought to their knowledge to call all their Catholic fervour into action as a repudiation of the insults offered to "Mary, the Mother of God." Immediately after the reception of the Apostolic letter from the Sovereign-Pontiff, he determined to place the crusade of Catholic faith against civil persecution and Protestant profanation of the Catholic sanctuary under the patronage of "Mary." In every church of Rome he caused to be issued to the faithful an invitation to make visits of reparation for the insults offered to Mary, the Mother of God, in Rome, to the Basilicas of St. John Lateran, Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, and Santa Maria Maggiore. Low Sunday, 1879, was the day appointed for the great demonstration of love to the Protectress of every Roman and of every Catholic. The people of Rome rose *en masse* to the invitation of the Cardinal-Vicar. Men, women, and children crowded the Basilicas throughout the day. The noble, the citizen and the beggar all knelt together in supplication. "The whole of the Roman people turned out," says the *Times*, and the demonstration was "undoubtedly and not incorrectly described as a triumph for the Church." Before every altar of the Blessed Virgin in Rome the people knelt in prayer; they rushed through the streets, crying "Evviva Maria Dei Genitrix;" boldly proclaiming that the Romans are still true to the persecuted Church. One of the most imposing sights of Modern Rome was witnessed at the Basilica of the Holy Cross. Here the Cardinal-Vicar, who had called on the people to declare their Faith, was to expose the relics of the True Cross,

and bless the people from the balcony. The Basilica was crammed with the devout people when Cardinal Monaco La Valletta pronounced the solemn benediction. But at Santa Maria Maggiore, the Basilica of the Blessed Virgin, the spectacle was if possible grander. The whole broad avenue leading from St. John Lateran, the roads leading to Santa Maria, the Basilica itself, were thronged with crowds, in which the mendicant jostled the marquis, each pilgrim devoutly reciting the Rosary, and all bent on testifying their devotion to the Mother of the Divine Founder of the persecuted Church. The demonstration was the answer of the Romans to the presence of the Italian Government, as well as the Roman condemnation of the work of the Italian statesmen which makes it possible that insult can be offered to the "Virgin of Virgins" in the earthly sanctuary of Her Divine Son. And the answer is meant to evoke similar replies throughout Italy. The Cardinal-Vicar of Rome has entered upon an active crusade against the encroachments on Catholic liberty and Catholic belief, and under his leadership—for the Pontiff is a prisoner—Catholicism in Italy will rise against the enemies of the old Faith. In thus placing the fervour of religious belief in antagonism with political aggression, the Church is at all events using a legitimate weapon of warfare, and a more potent one than any aid that could be given to her cause by the intervention of Catholic princes in her behalf. As often before, the Church conquered force by prayer and the demonstration of Faith, so she undoubtedly will again. The first sign of coming conquest in the cause of religion has been called forth by the Cardinal-Vicar, who answers nobly to his duty in shewing an example of leadership to the Episcopate of Italy.

It is said that the Cardinal-Vicar is in favour of a still more decided demonstration of Catholic opinion against the spoliation of the Church, and the Sardinian aggression on the spiritual power of the Papacy. Since the accession of Pope Leo XIII. to the Papal Chair, the question of the advisability of meeting the Italian statesmen with the constitutional weapons which they, somewhat scantily provide, to justify their pretension to govern as liberators, has been under the consideration of the advisers of the Holy See. The vindication of Catholic freedom, it is admitted, must come from those who suffer most keenly from the aggression of "United Italy"—from the Italian Catholics themselves, of whom the Roman people are the natural leaders. Hitherto the Catholic people have contented themselves, acting under the advice of the Italian hierarchy, by refusing any recognition of the Italian Government. As a body they have not participated in the management of the national affairs, for they regard the new Constitution as an usurpation, through which they cannot give any authority to the administration which conducts the warfare against the religious independence of the Catholic Church. But it has become a grave question whether or not the protest of Italian Catholicism against the anti-religious policy of the monarchy shall not be carried to the Italian Chamber itself. The Catholic people are a portion of the nation, such as it is, and the weapons of the franchise, it is contended, can be made as powerful in their hands as in the hands of the enemies of the Holy See. They could, if they abandoned their attitude of inactivity, elect representatives to the public bodies, for the purpose of defending the religious rights of the nation against the aggression of the monarchy. Under the Cardinal-Vicar's jurisdiction the experiment has been tried in a small way in the election of members to the Roman Municipality, and though no organised effort was made, the experiment met with success. At all events, if the people themselves made the question of their religious rights a political one in the government of Italy, it is difficult to imagine an Italian Government strong enough to withstand the expression of popular opinion. The new *régime* professes to rule only in accordance with popular will, but the will of the majority of the nation has not yet been expressed in the only form acknowledged by the Constitution imposed upon Italy by the statesmen of the monarchy. In Rome, the first declaration called for by the Cardinal-Vicar from the people under his charge leaves no doubt as to what would be the attitude of the population if called upon at any time to express, by the use of the franchise, its verdict on the Sardinian aggressions against the spiritual administration of the Catholic Church. And as it is in Rome, so is the feeling of the populations said to be throughout the Italian Peninsula. But with all its professions of liberty, the monarchy hesitates to admit the people to a participation in the national life. The franchise, by virtue of which "United Italy" claims the right of existence, has been so cleverly fashioned by the politicians that the national will has practically no voice in the management of the national policy. Even the revolutionists who made "United Italy" protest against their exclusion from the nursery of their bantling, and demand the extension of the franchise to the

people. Because the Government feels that, once admitted to participation in the political life of the country, the people would protect their religious privileges and defend the Church against spoliation, the politicians hesitate to complete the programme by which they justify their title to power. The politicians see clearly enough that with such leaders as Cardinal Monaco La Valletta, who is but a type of the prelates in other parts of Italy, the Catholic population may some day destroy the purely secular edifice they have erected in the name of Government. The permission of the Holy See once given, the Cardinal-Vicar of Rome may find himself ranked first among the deliverers of the Church from the oppression of Italian Philistinism.

This is the last and perhaps the noblest commission which Cardinal La Valletta has yet been called upon to fulfil, and in him, the Prelate who never ceases from self-sacrifice in the cause of Catholic truth, the Roman people possess a leader who will save Rome from the ruin of the spiritual Goths of this unbelieving age.



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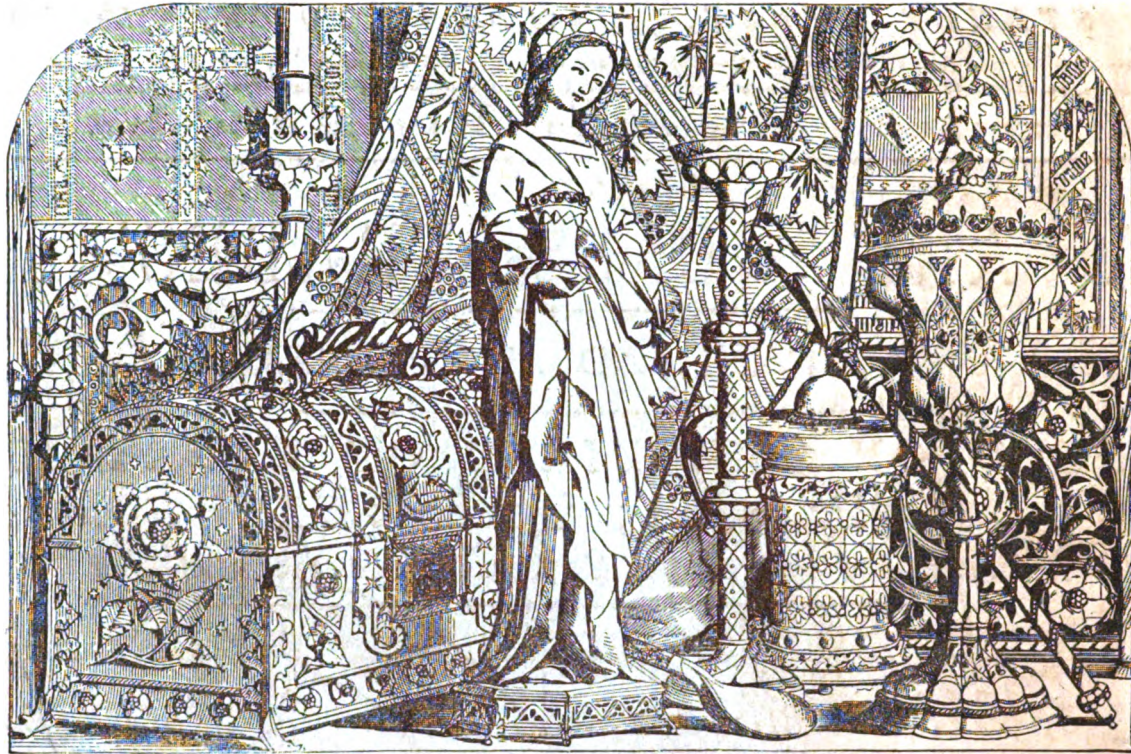
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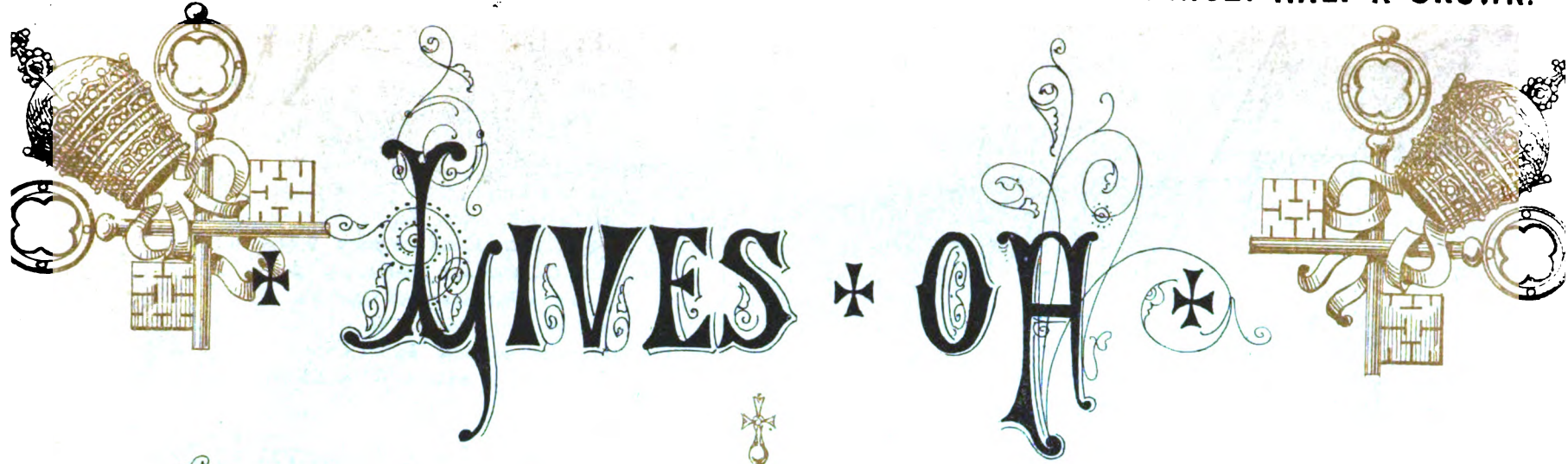
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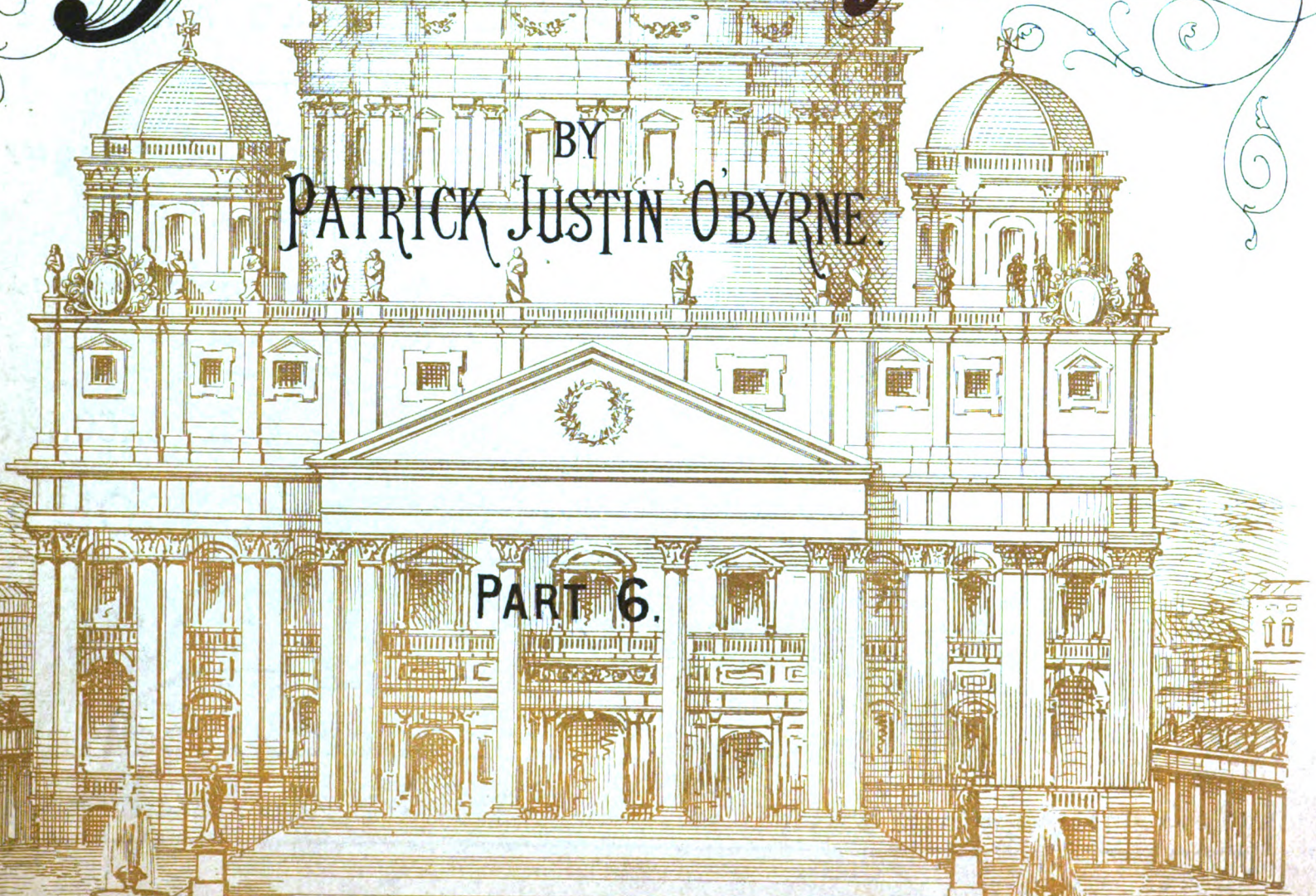
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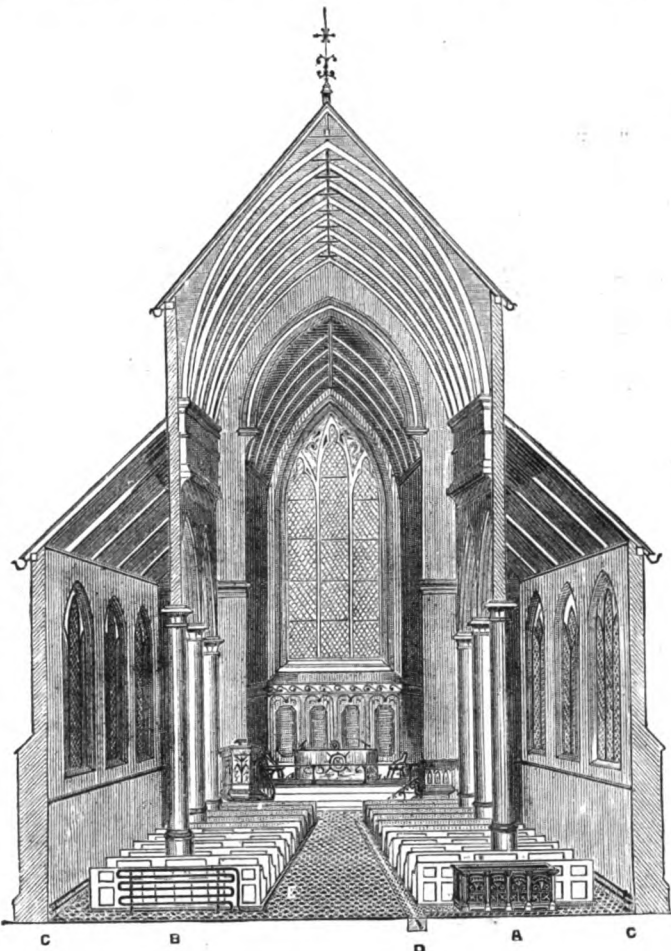
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John H. Newman

ANNALS

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CARDINAL NEWMAN.

From the period of the Reformation itself, men within the English Protestant Communion began to doubt the wisdom and the purity of faith of their fathers in separating themselves from the Roman Mother of Christianity. And the theory of spiritual or mental reversion, if you will, displayed itself as strongly in every age since the Sovereign and Parliament founded in England a Christianity of their own—as the spirit of physical reversion has ever manifested itself, according to the theories of the Evolutionists, in animated nature. While legislators made laws for the extension of the Protestant faith by the forcible suppression of liberty of conscience in the blood of its professors, the voice of Rome continued to speak to the thoughtful men of the Establishment in smothered tones. The tongue of Eternal Truth was never silent. It spoke strongly to the soul of Archbishop Laud, though its sound was stifled by the voice of the new heresy which gave him his title and fascinated him with the pride of a false Apostolicity. Its cadences always lingered in the halls of Oxford,—as if the hallowed spirits of the holy men whom the ancient Catholic University had given to the Church of St. Peter hovered lovingly round the sanctuary of learning, keeping the light of Faith burning amid the black gloom of the plague of spiritual darkness which had fallen on England for her sins of rebellion to Christian authority. Year by year, from the close of the sixteenth century to the opening of the nineteenth, those chosen children of the University who had seen the light, came forth from her halls to carry it into the homes of England—many of them to the stake and to the scaffold—feeding its intensity with the blood of martyrdom. From Oxford came Father Campion, of the Society of Jesus, in the fifteenth century; Father Roe, of the same Society; and amongst celebrated and pious Benedictines, Father Cressy, the author of the “Church History of Brittany,” in the seventeenth. Every College of Oxford has given its Confessors in each succeeding century, most of them destined to atone for the national sin of heresy as preachers of the Faith of Rome in the midst of persecution and obloquy; many of them descendants of the perverse rulers who decreed the abolition of the Apostolic authority, commissioned to bear witness to its inextinguishable light in the high places of the land and at the Court of the very Sovereigns who claimed the right to rule the Kingdom of Christ in accordance with the ordinances of English Cæsarism. But the chosen people were in bondage, some of them escaping now and then, guided by the lingering light into the fold of Catholic liberty; the others waiting patiently for the coming of the Great Deliverer, who always in the ordinances of Providence appears in His good time, to set free the captive soul—the imprisoned children of error, and lead those whom God has called into a Promised Land. The nineteenth century was destined to bring the Christian liberator to the halls of Oxford. Singularly enough the story of his career is in a modern garb a repetition of the marvellous chronicles of other men of God who had been sent in other ages to lead His people out of bondage and of suffering. Moses was nurtured in the very Courts of Pharaoh that he might by-and-bye, with an Egyptian wand, break the spell of Pharaoh’s power over the chosen people, and lifting up their hearts with hope and courage lead them safely through the divided sea and triumphantly over the arid desert to the free and fruitful pastures of Canaan. And he who has been called the Moses of the Oxford Movement, destined to lead the exodus of intellect from Protestantism, was rocked in the cradle of heresy and worldliness.

In February, 1801, there was born into the family of Mr. Newman, a banker of the city of London, a boy ordained by Providence for the triple career of poet, priest, and prophet. The Newmans were partners in the banking firm of Ramsbottom, Newman, and Co., which had already, at the close of the last century, obtained a solid reputation amongst the men whose business in life is to make money. In those days a banker was an aristocrat of commerce, and the social position to which the boy, John Henry Newman, was born was, therefore, as enviable as it was substantial. We can hardly realise it now, with our present codes of commercial

morality ; but in the year 1801 men of business had an old-fashioned leaning towards honesty and fair dealing, and looked for probity as an element of confidence in the managers of the money marts. High character was, therefore, one of the heritages of the Newmans, and one of the means by which the banking firm had attained its reputation. Of course, the Newmans were Protestants, but their Protestantism took a purely religious turn, and the family home was, beyond doubt, a pious one. Mrs. Newman was a woman of culture, who could never have dreamt that she would be the mother of a Roman Cardinal or that the son born to her, in February, 1801, was destined to be the iconoclast commissioned to shatter the monuments of that belief, in whose ordinances she taught him to walk reverently. The Protestant principles of the Newman family could not have been doctrinally very definite—but then Protestant principles never can be. However, it is certain that the city banker had an evangelical turn of mind, and that in his family the simple practices of religion, according to his lights, sufficed. In a quiet and unostentatious household, John Henry Newman, as a boy, was taught to glean his first intellectual pleasures in the study of the Bible. Child as he was, he had free scope, and freely used it, in the exercise of the right of private judgment. Before he was ten years of age he began to think for himself and to interpret the Scriptures according to his own fancy. The struggle for religious light, which ended only when he rested his wearied soul in the loving bosom of the Catholic Church, began in his boyhood. He had strange longings, altogether out of accord with the spirit of Protestantism, and in his tenth year, rays of the light for whose full power he waited so long and so patiently, almost miraculously entered into his soul. The beauty of spiritual life and angelic purity were the early idols of his mind. Before he heard of it—he tells us himself—he was familiar with the sign of the Cross. The Cross was not an emblem of Protestant worship seventy years since : its absence from Protestant places of prayer was somewhat queerly regarded as unimpeachable evidence of orthodox Christianity.

John Henry Newman never saw the Sign of Redemption from the paternal pew of the church in which the family worshipped, yet before his tenth birthday he had, in the opening page of his first Latin verse book, inscribed his name, "John H. Newman, February 11th, 1811, Verse Book," followed by his first Latin verses. Between "verse" and "book," to quote his own reminiscence of the singular incident, he had drawn the "figure of a solid cross upright, and next to it, what may indeed be intended as a necklace, but what he could never make out to be anything else than a set of beads, suspended with a little cross attached." How did these signs of the coming Crown of Truth, still so far away, find themselves looking in the face of this boy of ten years? He may—for with characteristic humility, he was loth to acknowledge any special predestination of Providence on his account, have gathered his ideas of the cross and the beads from some romance or some religious picture, but "the strange thing is how among the thousand objects which meet a boy's eyes these in particular should have so fixed themselves" in his mind. He had instinctively grasped the symbols of the Faith of which he was to become the Prophet and the Apostle in his own land. The cross and the beads were the early signs of the ordination reserved for the illustrious disciple of St. Philip.

The very exercise of private judgment by which this studious boy harassed his soul thus early in his search for spiritual health became the means of sowing in his mind the seeds of future flowers of Catholic thought. He went from the paternal home to a school at Ealing, and there he addicted himself freely to theological reading, and to what people, who disown any belief in direct providential interposition, would call religious romancing. But the spiritual fancies which filled his mind at twelve years of age, are exquisite revelations of the worship of beauty, and sanctity, and spiritual loveliness, which have been the potent charms by which he has throughout his long career continued, under all changes of position and belief, to influence the minds of good men. Guardian angels were hovering round him and the boy felt their presence, and spite of his Protestantism worshipped them. He longed to be like the intangible spirits of light who surrounded him. He transformed the genii of the "Arabian Nights" into angels. "I thought life might be a dream," he wrote in a boyish diary ; "or I an angel and [all this world a deception ; my fellow-angels, by a playful device, concealing themselves from me, and deceiving me with a semblance of a material world." His mind was evidently busily seeking for the Divine Presence in the world under every form, and yet, his spiritual condition was a source of trouble to his juvenile conscience. The trait of character always distinguishable in the lives of Catholic Saints, perfect holiness and union with God, was in him and strongly

developed. The strife between Faith and Reason, the Soul and the Intellect, had already begun to torment him. At fourteen he had read Thomas Paine's denunciations of the Old Testament, and with the strange cynicism of boyhood, understood and enjoyed the Rationalistic writings against Revelation. Hume's Essays had imbued his mind with a spirit of rebellion against the Supernatural, and he moralised over the verses of some French philosophers against the Immortality of the Soul. He thought to himself: "How dreadful! but how plausible!" Under the influence of such thoughts the barrier between his impressionable mind and abandonment to Deism or even a more extreme form of unbelief was, humanly speaking, slight indeed. But that mysterious sign of the Cross which had transferred itself from his mind to his verse book, was still hanging round his soul, appearing and re-appearing before him in his mental journeyings, marking the precipices, and warning his steps away from the abysses into which those around him were falling. It appeared as if the holy sign were borne by invisible angels, for within a year after, while he records the influence of rationalistic literature on his mind, he also indicates a preservative against its influence. He used constantly to cross himself when going into the dark. When reading Dr. Watts' "Remnants of Time," he felt that angels were living in disguise in the world. There were other influences, or graces, as we Catholics would say, dogging his intellectual footsteps. An *émigré* priest, a martyr of the Faith, driven into exile by the theorists whose negations had been disturbing young Newman's mind, was the French teacher at Ealing. There were one or two Catholic boys, of whose Faith Newman knew nothing, amongst his contemporaries at the school, and at least one Catholic family resident in the village. They may have been the messengers of grace, but Newman knew them not: he had no contact with them. He had been once in Warwick Street Chapel, London, and remembered the, to him, strange spectacle of a boy swinging a censer. The fragrance of that incense followed him throughout the rest of his life.

Up to this time, John Henry Newman, at the mature age of fifteen, had no particular creed, though his sensitive soul felt the want of *something* to guide its aspirations. He wanted a more definite communion with the world outside the earth. He began his religious life at the antipodes of Catholicism, for Calvin was his first prophet, and gave him his first impressions of dogma. At fifteen young Newman fancied he had been "converted," and was numbered amongst the elect. The unseen angels, whose invisible companionship he had loved, had become the creation of Superstition to his mind which, notwithstanding the joy of his "conversion" and "election," at fifteen was a desolate sort of desert without them. But in one sense, at all events, he was "elected," though he knew it not, for it is as startling as it is remarkable that in trying all things, in matters of the Faith, he was always able to hold fast that which was good. He picked up grains of Catholicism in his Calvinistic wanderings. Before his "conversion" he possessed no creed. He had been taught to look upon the Pope of Rome as Antichrist, and long after the close of his boyhood he retained the idea. That was the only definite article of belief which came from his Evangelical training. While preparing for his University course, under the tuition of the Rev. Walter Mayers, of Pembroke College, Oxford, formulas of Faith of some kind took the place of the indistinct spiritual longings or "superstitions," which before had been his only armour against scepticism. Mr. Mayers, though a member of the Church of England, was Calvinistic in all his leanings. He fed the insatiable mind of his pupil with the dreary literature of a dreary creed, which Newman, with the avidity of a hungry soul, transmuted into comfort and temporary peace. By this means he came to believe in the doctrine of final perseverance and believed that he was "elected to eternal glory." He evidently gave up his mind to the contemplation of what that glory was, and lived a kind of ecstasy away from the world. The angel of Charity, under the influence of whose power he had given up all his active life to the salvation of his fellow men, was then beside him. He rested "in the thought of two, and two only, absolute and luminously self-evident beings"—himself and his Creator; but while he felt certain of his own predestination to salvation, he could not realise, and did not realise the "detestable doctrine," that the unselected were predestined to an eternity of suffering. With those definite doctrines—the belief in a God and in the duty of serving Him to the end of life for the certainty of perpetual bliss hereafter—he entered the University of Oxford, whose religious leader he was so soon to become. There were few there then who imagined that when in 1819 the pale-faced, somewhat attenuated, retiring, and fanciful youth whose name appeared as the winner of the Trinity Scholarship came amongst them he was destined to lead them, to impress their lives

with the power of a great intellect, to raise up in their souls the spirit of Christian enthusiasm, to form for them, or for most of them, a link between human intellect and heavenly faith; and teach them to bring all the pearls of their knowledge, and the brightest jewels of their science, as offerings to the service and the throne of Him, whose symbol of love, of power, and of glory, was revealed years ago in the upright cross of a child's first Latin verse book. The Cross going before him in the dark, leading him to light.

The special Catholic principle which he retained when the Calvinistic raiment had fallen from him, was the necessity of working and working to the end for his own salvation, notwithstanding his "election." As an undergraduate, John Henry Newman gave himself more to the development of his soul than to anything else. In reading the works of the Rev. Thomas Scott, the author of the "Force of Truth," he arrived at another definite belief—that of the mystery of the Holy Trinity. The Athanasian Creed was firmly fixed in his mind and his omniverous knowledge of the Bible enabled him, at least a year before, to provide himself with a series of Scriptural texts in support of each verse of that glorious proclamation of Catholic Faith. His College (Trinity) had traditions of a line of Catholic Confessors from the period of the Reformation, some of whom had emerged from its halls to attest by their lives the perpetuity of Catholic Faith in Protestant England. It could only have been by some special dispensation of Providence that young Newman was enabled to gather from almost every one of the minds which influenced him at this time, some germ of Catholic doctrine. The brilliancy of his attainments and the intensity of his character had attracted to him the attention of great minds among his contemporaries—and there were great minds at Oxford then. At nineteen years of age he had won his degree of B.A. with high classical honours, and the high opinion which Dr. Ogle, his private tutor, held of him, had been no secret, either to the undergraduates or to the University dons. He made few associates, for he was still living in the unseen world and doubting the reality of this. But the earnestness of his character, and the originality of his mind, marked him out to his tutors as the young man of most promise then at Oxford. The spirit of the movement, he was by-and-bye to lead, was noiselessly growing up around him, and his mind was being unconsciously prepared for the position which in a few years was yielded up to him by his contemporaries, unsought for and undesired by him. They knew, long before, that there was amongst them in John Henry Newman, a poet, who saw hidden in everything around him in the world the messengers of the heavenly hierarchy on earth; who was dreaming beautiful dreams of mundane holiness and celestial happiness; a young Levite, who longed to teach men how to worship their Creator with all the highest gifts of mind and the brightest attributes of the human soul; the prophet, who thus early had caught a glimpse of a far-away City of Truth; and a leader, endowed with probity, courage, and perseverance, to guide those who came with him over the arid desert or up the stony mount, through the darksome valley and gloomy abyss, until the green heights of the Heavenly Kingdom were reached, and the pilgrims could sit down under a canopy of peace. Premonitions of this destiny had come to himself in his youth, and they had come to him with a Catholic colouring. In 1816, a curious thought for a Calvinist took possession of his mind, and never wholly left it, that it was the will of God that he should lead a single life: that his future career would require, "such a sacrifice as celibacy involved, as, for instance, missionary work among the heathen, to which," he says, "he had a great drawing for some years." This was another of the principles of his life, which could not have been induced by any of his Protestant surroundings: it was another of the Catholic inspirations which took unconscious possession of his soul.

The attainment of his degree brought him into contact with the leading minds of the University. Within two years afterwards he had already thrown away the harsh theology of Calvinism, but he was thrown into a more dangerous atmosphere of doctrinal indifferentism, and was called upon for the first time in his University degree to assert his individuality in resisting its influence. The elements of the two great parties which afterwards took such distinct and antagonistic form in the University were struggling for separate life, and the leaders of both were anxious to secure the co-operation of the brilliant scholar of Trinity. On the one side was Dr. Whately, leading the students of Oxford towards religious latitudinarianism; on the other were the followers of Keble striving to rescue the Church of England from its forms of repelling aridity, and to connect it with primæval Christianity by tradition, and to make it a vivifying influence amongst men by the

infusion of devotional warmth and eloquent symbolism. Newman was first brought under the influence of Whately and his followers. There was one point of intellectual sympathy between the future Protestant Archbishop of Dublin and the future Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church. They were both subtle logicians and self-thinkers, given to courageous analysis of mental problems, and the unbiassed examination of forms of opinion. Mr. Whately shewed great kindness to Newman, and taught him to disregard consequences in the selection of his opinions. From his twenty-first to his twenty-fourth year, Mr. Newman was under the direct influence of Dr. Hawkins, then Vicar of St. Mary's; from the pulpit of which he himself was, by-and-bye, to preach Catholic doctrines, he heard the first distinct sounds of the Catholic voice. Dr. Hawkins taught him the doctrine of tradition, and enabled him to replace the Calvinistic theory of election by the Christian belief of Baptismal Regeneration. The unscriptural idea of the right of private judgment taught by Evangelical Protestantism was also destroyed in his mind by Dr. Hawkins' teaching. The Vicar of St. Mary's laid down the proposition that the Scriptures were intended to prove, not to teach, doctrine; and that the Church (of course the Church of England) was a body divinely authorised to declare, by its formularies, the principles provable by Holy Writ. The teacher and the brilliant pupil were afterwards rivals in the competition for the Provostship of Oriel, which the master won and the pupil very nearly obtained, rejoicing, nevertheless, in the success of the victor. Mr. Newman, through his early love for the Sacred Text, had been led to associate himself with the Bible Society for the indiscriminate dissemination of the Scriptures, and with the courageous consistency of his life withdrew his support from it, when he renounced the doctrine of private judgment. Another of his contemporaries, a Fellow of Oriel, with whom he used to walk the meadows of Christ Church, convinced him of the reasonableness of the Catholic doctrine of Apostolic Succession. It was, of course, not presented to him from a Catholic point of view, but as an attribute of authority to be found in the Church of England.

Thus, at twenty-two years of age, was placed in his hands the weapon by which he afterwards destroyed the authority of that Church over the minds of thousands of its most cultured members. The principle was planted in his mind that Christian authority could not exist without Apostolicity. In 1824, Mr. Newman was admitted to priests' orders in the Church of England, and devoted himself for a time to his clerical avocations as a curate, and, in 1825, his election to a Fellowship of Oriel College at once gave him the standing of a University celebrity. His advancement in collegiate distinction from this point of his career was unusually rapid. He became at one leap a power in Oxford. Troops of intellectual companions gathered round him and implicitly accepted him as their leader. Amongst them were pupils of John Keble, who found in Newman the successor of their absent master. Keble's personal influence during his residence in the University had been great, and his teaching had erected a bulwark against the innovations of the latitudinarian party. His occasional visits were always golden events, for he was welcomed by the new generation of students, who looked upon him as the greatest of Oxford's modern teachers. Without seeing the man, Newman had conceived in his mind a reverent enthusiasm for his character. Dr. Newman thus tells the story of their first meeting, and its effect upon his mind:—"The first time I was in a room with him was on occasion of my election to a Fellowship at Oriel, when I was sent for into the Tower to shake hands with the Provost and Fellows. How is that hour fixed in my memory after the changes of forty-two years, forty-two on this very day on which I write! I have lately had a letter in my hands which I sent at the time to my great friend, John William Bowden, with whom I passed almost exclusively my undergraduate years. 'I had to hasten to the Tower,' I say to him, 'to receive the congratulations of all the Fellows. I bore it till Keble took my hand, and then felt so abashed and unworthy of the honour done me that I seemed desirous of quite sinking into the ground.' His had been the first name I had heard spoken of with reverence, rather than admiration, when I came up to Oxford. When one day I was walking in High Street with my dear earliest friend just mentioned, with what eagerness did he cry out 'There's Keble!' and with what awe did I look at him. Then at another time I heard a Master of Arts of my college give an account how he had just then had occasion to introduce himself on some business to Keble, and how gentle, unaffected, and courteous Keble had been, so as almost to put him out of countenance. Then, too, it was reported, truly or falsely, how a rising man of brilliant reputation (the present Dean of St. Paul's Dr. Milman), admired and loved him, adding that

somehow he was strangely unlike anyone else. However, at the time when I was elected Fellow of Oriel he was not in residence, and he was shy of me for years in consequence of the marks I bore upon me of the Evangelical and Liberal schools."

Two years were to elapse before these two great men became friends and fellow-workers. Meanwhile, Dr. Whately, who came back in 1825, as Principal of St. Alban's, laid hold for a time of the intellectual athlete for whom both the Oxford parties were contending. He at once appointed him Vice-Principal and Tutor of the Hall; but during the year of their intimate association at St. Alban's, Newman discovered that there was no sympathy of principle between them. Dr. Whately was the leader of the aggressive Liberalism of Oxford—the head of the party which sought to widen the doctrines and weaken the discipline of the Church of England, that it might be all things to all men, and nothing in particular to itself. With the ideas of Apostolical Succession, Church authority, and Tradition already settled in his mind, Newman found that he could not cooperate with the teachings of the Whately school. Yet, he had a high respect for him, and even when he found it necessary to dis sever his connection with him, did so only with regret. He, however, conceived a horror, which he has never overcome, of the religious Liberalism of which Whately was the leader. Political events aided the estrangement, and it is a curious reminiscence that John Henry Newman, now an honoured member of the Supreme Senate of the Catholic Church, should at Oxford, in 1829, have been arrayed against the advocates of Catholic Emancipation. The Emancipationists were led by Whately, and Whately represented the renunciation of Church authority, Apostolicity, etc. To him the Church of England was but the religious machinery of the State; to Newman it was nothing, if not a Divine institution. Catholic Emancipation appeared as the instrument illustrating the right of the State to modify the organic power of the Church. Newman had, before 1829, been one of the supporters of the Catholic claims; but when Sir Robert Peel, after the Speech from the throne, announcing the determination of the Duke of Wellington's Cabinet to concede Emancipation, came down to Oxford to seek election for the University, and was taken up by Whately and Hampden, Newman judged the statesman by his company, and was against him. Three years before Dr. Hawkins and that strange child of spiritual vacillation, Blanco White, had warned Newman that the time was coming when the teaching of the Church of England would be assailed by the political parties, and even by the ministers of the State. In the sudden change of front by the Ministry of the day Newman recognised, or fancied he recognised, the first sign of the threatened warfare. On no other theory can his sudden opposition to the Catholic Claims be comprehensible. Blanco White expressed the astonishment of Newman's earlier University contemporaries at this episode, as well as at the progress of his career, when he wrote:—

"In this party (the anti-Peel, in 1829) I found, to my great surprise, my dear friend, Mr. Newman, of Oriel. As he had been one of the annual petitioners to Parliament for Catholic Emancipation, his sudden union with the most violent bigots was inexplicable to me. That change was the first manifestation of the mental revolution which has suddenly made him one of the leading persecutors of Dr. Hampden, and the most active and influential of that association called the Puseyite party, from which we have those very strange productions, entitled, 'Tracts for the Times.' While stating these public facts my heart feels a pang at the recollection of the affectionate and mutual friendship between that excellent man and myself, a friendship which his principles of orthodoxy could not allow him to continue in regard to one whom he now regards as inevitably doomed to eternal perdition. Such is the venomous character of orthodoxy. What mischief must it create in a bad heart and narrow mind, when it can work so effectually for evil in one of the most benevolent of bosoms, and one of the ablest of minds, in the amiable, the intellectual, the refined, John Henry Newman." Blanco White could not see in his Scepticism that there are higher interests than human friendships.

The action taken by Mr. Newman, conscientious as it was, seemed to separate him for ever from Dr. Whately. While the latter remained in the University they were on opposite sides, and the chances of any resumption of intimacy were destroyed by the choice of the Principal of St. Alban's as Archbishop of Dublin. The project known as the Suppression of the Irish Protestant Sees was publicly mooted about this time, and Dr. Whately was rightly or wrongly regarded as the representative of the policy embodied in the project. The measure was denounced by the newly-born Anglican body as a direct interference of the State with the organisation of the Church, and a tacit declaration to the world that the Church of England and Ireland was,

after all, only a department of the Government. What was threatened in Ireland might be done in England, and, therefore, it should be resisted. Whately had also been credited with the authorship of a work published some years before, entitled, "Letters on the Church of England, by an Episcopalian," in which opinion in favour of Disestablishment had been ably argued. It was no wonder then that the estrangement between the Archbishop and the party represented by Mr. Newman was complete, and the bitterness with which Dr. Whately regarded the antagonism of his former *protégé* has been evidenced in acrimonious allusions to Mr. Newman in the Archbishop's works. Though the Archbishop of Dublin visited Oxford, and Mr. Newman, years afterwards, found himself the head of a Catholic University, in the archdiocese of Dr. Whately, and resided for years opposite the Archiepiscopal residence, they never associated again. Once, indeed, they might have met at Oxford, and the absence of Mr. Newman from amongst those who welcomed the Archbishop, gave rise to a scandal and a correspondence. The Archbishop attended the chapel at Oriel, and as Mr. Newman was not present, it was reported he had absented himself in order to avoid communicating in company with his Grace, in other words that Mr. Newman regarded the Archbishop of Dublin as heretic. Dr. Whately, who was a sensitive man, on the 25th of October, 1834, and addressing him as "My dear Newman," six months after his visit to Oxford, felt the suggestion so keenly that he wrote to his former Vice-Principal on the subject as follows:—"A most shocking report concerning you has reached me, which, indeed, carries such an improbability on the face of it that you may perhaps wonder at my giving it a thought; and at first I did not, but finding it repeated from different quarters, it seems to me worth contradicting for the sake of your character. Some Oxford undergraduates, I find, openly report that when I was at Oriel last spring you absented yourself from chapel on purpose to avoid receiving the Communion along with me, and that you yourself declared this to be the case. I would not notice every idle rumour; but this has been so confidently and so long asserted that it would be a satisfaction to me to be able to declare its falsity as a fact from your authority. I did, indeed, at once declare my utter unbelief; but then this has only the weight of my opinion; though an opinion resting, I think, on no insufficient grounds. I did not profess to rest my disbelief on our long, intimate, and confidential friendship, which would make it your right and your duty—if I did anything to offend you or anything you might think materially wrong—to remonstrate with me; but on your general character, which I was persuaded would have made you incapable, even had no such close connection existed between us, of conduct so unchristian and inhuman. But, as I said, I should like for your sake to be able to contradict the report from your own authority."

Mr. Newman, in reply, explained that his absence from chapel was due merely to an engagement in clerical duty, but he was not willing to lose the opportunity of defining his relations towards the Archbishop. He candidly added:—"I am happy in being thus able to afford an explanation as satisfactory to you as the kind feelings which you have ever entertained towards me could desire; yet, on honest reflection, I cannot conceal from myself that it was generally a relief to me to see so little of your Grace when you were at Oxford, and it is a greater relief now to have an opportunity of saying so to yourself. I have ever wished to observe the rule never to make a public charge against another behind his back, and though in the course of conversation and the urgency of accidental occurrences it is sometimes difficult to keep to it, yet I trust I have not broken it, especially in your own case; *i.e.*, though my most intimate friends know how deeply I deplore the line of ecclesiastical policy adopted under your archiepiscopal sanction, and though in society I may have clearly shewn that I have an opinion one way rather than the other, yet I have never in my intention, never (as I believe) at all, spoken of your Grace in a serious way before strangers; indeed, mixing very little in general society, and not over apt to open myself in it, I have had little temptation to do so. Least of all should I so forget myself as to take undergraduates into my confidence in such a matter."

The suppression of the Irish Protestant sees, as it was called, had taken place, and Mr. Newman, in order to clearly set forth his views on the interference of the State, made strong allusion to the measure:—"I wish," he said, "I could convey to your Grace the mixed and very painful feelings which the late history of the Irish Church has raised in me: the union of her members with men of heterodox views, and the extinction (without ecclesiastical sanction) of half her candlesticks, the witnesses and guarantees of the truth and trustees of the Covenant. I willingly own that both in my secret judgment and my mode of speaking concerning you to my

friends, I had great alternations and changes of feeling—defending, then blaming your policy, next praising your own self and protesting against your measures, according as the affectionate remembrances I had of you rose against my utter aversion of the secular and unbelieving policy in which I considered the Irish Church to be implicated. I trust I shall never be forgetful of the kindness you uniformly shewed me during your residence in Oxford, and anxiously hope that no duty to Christ and His Church may ever interfere with the expression of my sense of it. However, on the present opportunity, I am conscious to myself that I am acting according to the dictates both of duty and gratitude, if I beg your leave to state my persuasion that the perilous measures in which your Grace has acquiesced are but the legitimate offspring of those principles, difficult to describe in few words, with which your reputation is especially associated: principles which bear upon the very fundamentals of all argument and investigation, and affect almost every doctrine and every maxim by which our faith or our conduct is to be guided.”

The Archbishop hardly attempted to defend himself against the implied charge of want of fealty to the Church. His Grace could only say that he was no worse than others. This is his defence:—“I am well aware, indeed, that one cannot expect all, even good men, to think alike on every point, even after they shall have heard both sides, and that we may expect many to judge, after all, very harshly of those who do differ from them; for, God help us! what will become of men if they receive no more mercy than they shew to each other? But at least, if the rule were observed, men would not condemn a brother on mere vague popular rumour about principles (as in my case) ‘difficult to describe in few words,’ and with which his reputation is associated. My own reputation, I know, is associated, to a very great degree, with what are in fact calumnious imputations originated in exaggerated, distorted, or absolutely false statements, for which even those who circulate them do not, for the most part, pretend to have any ground except popular rumour, like the Jews at Rome: ‘As for this way, we know that it is everywhere spoken against.’ For I have ascertained that a very large proportion of those who join in the outcry against my works confess, or even boast, that they have never read them. And in respect of the measure you advert to—the Church Temporalities Act—(which of course I shall not now discuss) it is curious to see how many of those who load me with censure for acquiescing in it receive with open arms, and laud to the skies, the Primate, who was consulted on the measure—as was natural, considering his knowledge of Irish affairs, and his influence—long before me, and gave his consent to it, differing from Ministers only on a point of detail, whether the revenues of six sees, or of ten, should be alienated. Of course everyone is bound ultimately to decide according to his own judgment; nor do I mean to shelter myself under his example; but only to point out what strange notions of justice those have who acquit with applause the leader, and condemn the follower in the same individual transaction. Far be it from any servant of our Master to feel surprise or anger at being thus treated; it is only an admonition to me to avoid treating others in a similar manner and not to ‘judge another’s servant,’ at least without a fair hearing.”

In the course of his letter, Archbishop Whately quoted from the letter addressed to him by Mr. Newman when a bond of intellectual sympathy existed between them. Mr. Newman had said:—“Much as I owe to Oriel in the way of mental improvement, to none, as I think, do I owe so much as to yourself. I know who it was who first gave me heart to look about me after my election, and taught me to think correctly, and—strange office for an instructor—to rely upon myself. Nor can I forget that it has been at your kind suggestion that I have since been led to employ myself in the consideration of several subjects which I cannot doubt have been very beneficial to my mind.” The generous acknowledgment was used by the Archbishop as a claim to the continuation of the personal regard expressed, and he complained bitterly that he should be charged with any responsibility for Newman’s opinions by teaching him to rely upon himself. It was, however, as Mr. Newman pointed out in a letter closing the correspondence, that reliance which enabled him to differ from his former friend and hold opinions of his own. Mr. Newman’s last letter was the epitaph of their friendship.

When, in 1826, on his resigning his post in St. Alban’s, he told Dr. Whately that he had been taught to rely upon himself, he was being drawn actively into the movement for the internal reform of the Church of England. His overflowing mentality led him into literature, and he became a contributor, amongst other periodicals, to the *London Review* and the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*. From 1823 he had been in intimate

association with Dr. Pusey, who was a follower of Dr. Lloyd, Regius Professor of Divinity. Dr. Lloyd was quietly preparing the way for that revolution of opinion which is still agitating the Church of England. Dr. Lloyd had written articles on Catholic doctrines which went a great way in proving that the tenets of the Ancient Church were not only Scriptural, but were not in opposition to the Articles of the Church of England. That Church, according to the Oxford men, was the successor of the Primitive Church, and there was indisputable evidence that the doctrines of the Catholics were also primitive. Then again, the Regius Professor, in a course of lectures on the construction of the Book of Common Prayer, still further developed this theory and aimed at proving what afterwards became the elementary principle of the Tractarian Movement, that under the Articles of the English Church much of the Catholic doctrine could be accepted. The teaching of Dr. Lloyd prepared the ground for the Oxford Movement, and side by side with that of Dr. Hawkins and Mr. Keble had made men impatient of the dreary coldness of Protestant worship, and the absence of devotional impulse in Protestant practice. The young men of Oxford longing for Christian perfection, found no outward aids to its attainment in the interpretations of doctrine with which they had been familiarised. They were longing for the angels and visible signs of redemption which Mr. Newman had found in his boyhood. They wanted a visible, permeating Church entering into their daily lives; directing for good the impulses of their human nature; giving the soul something to *lean* on, something to provide comfort in anguish and solace in trial. They wanted this, and they had only a written creed. So far as the creation of this feeling of unrest and aspiration went, Mr. Keble was up to that point more directly responsible than any other member of the University for the formation of the new party in the Church of England. But he was absent from Oxford and his principles were only being preserved in an indefinable and intangible sort of way. His disciples remained after him, but they knew not what to inscribe on their banner, if indeed they were prepared to carry any banner at all.

The important position which Mr. Newman held at St. Alban Hall gave him opportunities of spreading, still in the intangible form, the principles which he had one by one gathered for himself. He was private tutor to many of the ablest of the undergraduates, and in frequent friendly communication with the leading men of the University. It was difficult to get him to talk at all, but when once he opened his mouth on doctrinal doubts, it was his nature to be unhesitatingly candid. It was in this mood that he met one of the most remarkable and probably one of the most intellectual of his Oxford contemporaries, Richard Hurrell Froude. Froude had been a favourite pupil of Keble's. Between Froude and Newman a most affectionate friendship was formed, which lasted till the early death of one of them. He was, in the words of his friend, "A man of the highest gifts—so truly many sided that it would be presumptuous in me to attempt to describe him, except in those aspects in which he came before me. But in those aspects he revealed himself as a man of high genius, brimful and overflowing with ideas and views in him original, which were too many and strong even for his bodily strength, and which crowded and jostled against each other in their effort after distinct shape and expression." Amongst these views were many essentially Catholic, which, as the event proved, it was morally impossible to make run side by side with the spirit of Protestantism. The few germs of Catholic thought in Mr. Newman's mind, received a rich accession from Froude. Though he afterwards wrote bitterly enough about its members, Froude openly professed admiration for the Catholic Church. He detested the Reformation with as vehement a hatred as—though a more thoughtful hatred than—William Cobbet. He believed in the hierarchical system; rejected the Evangelical Doctrine, that the Bible and the Bible only is the religion of Protestants. He had a veneration for saints, believed in the Real Presence, was certain that sanctity was a Divine growth in the human soul, thought virginity and purity holy things, and honoured the Blessed Virgin as their pattern. The strong admiration for the Church whose earthly ruler governs from Rome, a devotion to the Mother of God, and a gradual belief in the Real Presence, were the tangible contributions to his future faith, which Froude implanted in Newman's mind. Froude was impetuous, and his new friend was the very personification of thoughtfulness. Froude went abroad, fancied he saw something like a degeneracy from high Catholic ideas, returned disgusted and animated into a sort of antagonism to Catholicism, in which he remained till his early death. Newman went to Italy, too, and there was only troubled in spirit by the works of divinity which he found in the Church, and has lived to be one of

her princes. These were the main influences which operated in the foundation of Catholic faith in Mr. Newman's mind. Other friends he had in Wilberforce, in his companion, Mr. Bowden, in Mr. Rose, of the *British Critic*, and many others who have either preceded or followed him to the True Fold; but he influenced them rather than they him.

In 1827, the epic of Anglicanism, the "Christian Year" appeared, entrancing the mind of the New School by its exquisite symbolism of Faith, and of the higher aspiration of the new movement. It alarmed the Evangelicals by its open adoption of ideas which were hitherto repugnant to Protestantism. At all events, the reception which the work met with, the high enthusiasm which it created, proved the desirability and the power of a literature for the movement till then somewhat inelevate. There was literary genius enough among the young men who followed the new teachers. Newman was himself, perhaps, the highest literary genius among them. With the ethereal fire, he also possessed a higher culture and a purer aim than any of his colleagues, albeit, where every aim was high, and every ambition pure, this is high praise.

In 1826, too, he became tutor of his college, and preached his first University sermon; and a year afterwards this marvellous young man of twenty-six was one of the Public Examiners of the University. He had hitherto been a man of thought only, seeking only truth and knowledge for himself. He now became a man of action, a public teacher of his fellows, a preacher of light, it seemed to those who read his incisive thoughts or listened to his terse, graphic eloquence. The year 1828 saw him appointed to the church he afterwards made famous, and the appointment was gladly accepted. He had been weary and ill with too much hard study—too much fiery thought, and too subtle introspection. He was not yet Vicar of St. Mary's, when he formed a personal friendship with Keble. Froude introduced them. "If I was ever asked what good deed I had ever done, I should say that I had brought Keble and Newman to understand each other." Much prose literature followed the publication of the "Christian Year," and under the direction of Pusey, most of the young men of the movement expounded its objects to the world in some form or another. In the University, and from St. Mary's pulpit, Mr. Newman dealt with the problems forming themselves in his mind, and delighted his hearers, who were the intellectual aristocracy of the University, by the courageous frankness with which he expounded every phase of difficult doctrine. He and his friends had betaken themselves again to intense study, preparing for addressing themselves to the world outside Oxford. In two years from 1828 to 1830, they had advanced with long strides nearer and nearer to Catholic principles. The vision of Antichrist sitting at Rome had long disappeared. The union with the saints in Heaven, and a recognition of their guardianship on earth, had already ceased to be either superstition or idolatry. Catholic traditions were actually recognised as part and parcel of the true Church, whose faith was necessary to salvation. The Fathers took their place beside the Evangelists, and for two years Mr. Newman set the example to his comrades by saturating his mind with the writings of the holy men, whose utterances were first presented to him in his boyhood by Bishop Milner. In 1830 a definite literary propagandism was carried on. Mr. Rose proposed the publication of a theological library, and Mr. Newman was asked to contribute a history of the principal Councils of the Church. The outcome of the proposal was Newman's first great work, "Arians of the Fourth Century." In gathering his materials for this publication, the Vicar of St. Mary's was fascinated with the subtle philosophy and profound theology of Clement and Origen. It was a new and satisfying banquet to his hungry mind. By the light with which they judged heresy in the eye of the Church, he was able to detect the taint of heterodoxy in the accepted interpretation of Protestant doctrine, and incited to the resolve of purging the Church, which he loved, from its doctrinal impurities. In his sermons the Catholic influence of the Fathers of the Alexandrine School defined in his mind the purely Catholic doctrine—the Communion of Saints. The angelic dreams of his boyhood became potent realities, and in one of his sermons he was able to say of the heavenly hierarchy, "Every breath of air, and ray of light and heat; every beautiful prospect is, as it were, the skirts of their garments; the weaving of the robes of those whose faces see God." Being full of these Catholic notions, and wearied with literary labour, he and Froude, in 1832, determined to visit the Catholic countries of Europe. This was the turning point of Mr. Newman's theological career. He had no love for Rome when he started, for he still thought that Rome had corrupted the beautiful belief he was beginning to realise in its purity, as he fancied. He determined to avoid Catholics lest his conscience might be soiled by what he believed their errors. He thought he had found the true life

and guiding light in the Church of England, and felt that he had only to spread its flame to purify it. Yet, as he waited for the mail at Falmouth, he was writing verses to his Guardian Angel, and looked before him with a query :—

“Are these the tracks of some unearthly Friend?”

There was a prophetic vision of a coming crisis in his soul hanging about him. How it came upon him he tells himself in a touching and startling picture of his emotions. “The strangeness of foreign life threw me back into myself. I found pleasure in historical sites and beautiful scenes, not in men and manners. We kept clear of Catholics throughout our tour. I had a conversation with the Dean of Malta, a most pleasant man, lately dead; but it was about the Fathers and the library of the great Church. I knew the Abbate Santini at Rome, who did no more than copy the Gregorian tones. Froude and I made two calls upon Monsignore (now Cardinal) Wiseman, at the Collegio Inglese, shortly before we left Rome. Once we heard him preach at a church in the Corso. I do not recollect being in a room with any other ecclesiastics, except a priest at Castro-Giovanni in Sicily, who called on me when I was ill, and with whom I wished to hold a controversy. As to church services, we attended the Tenebræ, at Sistine, for the sake of the Miserere, and that was all. My general feeling was, ‘All save the spirit of man is divine.’ I saw nothing but what was external; of the hidden life of Catholics I knew nothing. I was still more driven back into myself and felt my isolation. England was in my thoughts solely, and the news from England came rarely and imperfectly. The Bill for the Suppression of the Irish Sees was in progress, and filled my mind. I had fierce thoughts against the Liberals.” Rome stirred the poet within him. It touched his spirit with a finger of love against which his Protestant traditions rebelled. He wrote of her at one moment as “a cruel Church” :—

“O Mother Church of Rome! why has thy heart
Beat so untruly towards thy northern child?
Why give a gift, nor give it undefiled,
Drugging thy blessing with a step-dame’s art?
. And now thou sendest foes
Bred from thy womb, lost Church! to mock the throes
Of thy free child, thou cruel-natured Rome!”

Then a fit of fascination came, and he yearned towards the “cruel Mother Church,” and in a burst of tenderness wrote :—

“Oh, that thy creed were sound!
For thou dost soothe the heart, thou Church of Rome,
By thy unwearied watch and varied round
Of service, in thy Saviour’s holy home.
I cannot walk thy city’s sultry streets,
But the wide porch invites to still retreats
Where passion’s thirst is calmed and care’s unthankful gloom.

There, on a foreign shore,
The home-sick solitary finds a friend,
Thoughts prisoned long for lack of speech outpour
Their tears, and doubts in resignation end.
I almost fainted from the long delay
That tangles me within this languid bay,
When comes a foe my wounds with oil and wine to tend.”

Subjection to the influence of the Holy City was coming swiftly to him, and he determined to rush away, lest by staying longer he should make the inevitable prostration at her shrines. The struggle of his spirit with Faith made him ill, and the touch of a sanctified earth on which he trod sent a fervid passion into his soul which he thus expresses :—“Especially when I was left by myself, the thought came upon me that deliverance is wrought not by the many but by the few, not by bodies but by persons. Now it was, I think, that I repeated to myself the words, which had ever been dear to me from my school days, ‘Exoriare aliquis!’ now, too, that Southey’s beautiful poem of Thalaba, for which I had an immense liking, came forcibly to mind. I began to think that I had a mission. There are sentences of my letters to my friends to this effect, if they are not destroyed. When we took leave of Monsignor Wiseman, he had courteously expressed a wish that we might make a second visit to Rome; I said, with great gravity, ‘We have a work to do in England.’ I went down at

once to Sicily, and the presentiment grew stronger. I struck into the middle of the island, and fell ill of a fever at Leonforte. My servant thought I was dying, and begged for my last directions. I gave them, as he wished; but, I said, 'I shall not die.' I repeated, 'I shall not die, for I have not sinned against light, I have not sinned against light.' I never have been able quite to make out what I meant. I got to Castro-Giovanni, and was laid up there for nearly three weeks. Towards the end of May I left for Palermo, taking three days for the journey. Before starting from my inn on the morning of May 26th or 27th, I sat down on my bed, and began to sob violently. My servant, who had acted as my nurse, asked what ailed me. I could only answer him, 'I have a work to do in England.' I was aching to get home, yet for want of a vessel I was kept at Palermo for three weeks. I began to visit the churches, and they calmed my impatience, though I did not attend any of the services. I knew nothing of the Presence of the Blessed Sacrament there. At last I got off in an orange boat, bound for Marseilles. Then it was that I wrote the lines, 'Lead, kindly Light,' which have since become well known."

He arrived at Oxford in time to hear Keble preach his famous sermon on "National Apostasy," in the University pulpit. This was on the 14th of July, 1833. From that day Mr. Newman dated the active origin of the Oxford Movement. It had, however, been going on in his absence. A kind of association was formed round Dr. Pusey, and the *British Magazine* had been started by Mr. Rose, with many of Newman's friends as contributors. Suddenly Newman, with the approval of some friends, against the wishes of others, and "out of his own head," as he says, began the "Tracts for the Times." Froude and Keble readily came to his aid, and as "Tract succeeded Tract the Movement and the opposition to it, spread together." Mr. Newman, whose literary facility was something marvellous, wrote twenty-four of them, and these the most important. There was a tenderness towards Rome in many of them, and there was a strong antagonism in most. He said very hard things of the Catholics, and continued to say them, until towards 1839 the pronounced opinions of the Church authorities against the whole scope of the Oxford Movement, opened his eyes to the impossibility of teaching Apostolic Faith under the sanction of the English Church. The hard things he had said of the Catholics weighed on his spirit heavily, and he had almost made up his mind to enter the Church against whose truth he had so steadfastly and honestly battled. He made a magnificent act of contrition by categorically setting forth his sins of uncharitableness against her, and courageously acknowledging his sorrow for his injustice. His act of accusation against himself effectually disposes of the suggestion so often and unfairly repeated, that he founded the Tractarian Movement for the purpose of Romanising the Church of England.

"It is true that I have at various times," he says, "in writing against the Roman system, used, not merely arguments, about which I am not here speaking, but what reads like declamation. 1. For instance, in 1833, in the *Lyra Apostolica*, I called it a 'lost Church.' 2. Also, in 1833, I spoke of 'the Papal Apostasy' in a work upon the Arians. 3. In the same year, in No. 15 of the series called the 'Tracts for the Times;' in which tract the words are often mine, though I cannot claim it as a whole; I say:—'True, Rome is heretical now—nay, grant she has thereby forfeited her orders; yet, at least, she was not heretical in the primitive ages. If she has apostatised, it was at the time of the Council of Trent. Then, indeed, it is to be feared the whole Roman Communion bound itself by a perpetual bond and covenant to the cause of Antichrist.' Of this and other tracts a friend, with whom I was on very familiar terms, observed, in a letter some time afterwards, though not of this particular part of it:—'It is very encouraging about the tracts, but I wish I could prevail on you, when the second edition comes out, to cancel or materially alter several. The other day accident put in my way the tract on the Apostolical Succession in the English Church; and it really does seem so very unfair that I wonder you could, even in the extremity of *οιχονομία* and *φαναχισμός* have consented to be a party to it.' On the passage above quoted I observe myself, in a pamphlet published in 1838:—'I confess I wish this passage were not cast in so declamatory a form; but the substance of it expresses just what I mean.' 4. Also, in 1833, I said:—'Their communion is infected with heresy; we are bound to flee it as a pestilence. They have established a lie in the place of God's truth, and by their claim of immutability in doctrine cannot undo the sin they have committed.' 5. In 1834 I said in a magazine:—'The spirit of old Rome has risen again in its former place, and has evidenced its identity by its works. It has possessed the Church there planted as an evil spirit might seize the demoniacs of primitive times, and

makes her speak words which are not her own. In the corrupt Papal system we have the very cruelty, the craft, and the ambition of the Republic; its cruelty in its unsparing sacrifice of the happiness and the virtue of individuals to a phantom of public expediency; in its forced celibacy within, and its persecutions without; its craft in its falsehoods, its deceitful deeds and lying wonders; and its grasping ambition in the very structure of its policy, in its assumption of universal dominion; still claims the sovereignty under another pretence. The Roman Church I will not blame but pity; she is, as I have said spellbound as if by an evil spirit; she is in thralldom.' I say in the same paper:—'In the Book of Revelations the sorceress upon the seven hills is not the Church of Rome, as is often taken for granted, but Rome itself, that bad spirit which, in its former shape, was the animating principle of the fourth monarchy. In St. Paul's prophecy it is not the Temple or Church of God, but the old man or evil principle of the flesh which exalteth itself against God. Certainly it is a mystery of iniquity, and one which may well excite our dismay and horror, that in the very heart of the Church, in her highest dignity, in the seat of S. Peter, the evil principle has throned itself, and rules. It seems as if that spirit had gained subtlety by years; Popish Rome has succeeded to Rome Pagan; and would that we had no reason to expect still more crafty developments of Anti-Christ, amid the wreck of institutions and establishments which will attend the fall of the Papacy. . . . I deny that the distinction is unmeaning. Is it nothing to be able to look on our mother, to whom we owe the blessing of Christianity, with affection instead of hatred, with pity indeed, nay, and fear, but not with horror? Is it nothing to rescue her from the hard names which interpreters of prophecy have put on her as an idolatress and an enemy of God, when she is deceived rather than a deceiver. I also say she virtually substitutes an external rite for moral obedience; penance for penitence, confession for sorrow, profession for faith, the lips for the heart; such at least is her system as understood by the many.' Also I say in the same paper, 'Rome has robbed us of high principles she has retained herself, though in a corrupt state. When we left her she suffered us not to go in the beauty of holiness; we left our garments and fled.'

"Against these and other passages of this paper the same friend, before it was published, made the following protest:—'I only expect from this general approbation your second and most superfluous hit at the poor Romanists. You have just set them down as demoniacally possessed by the evil genius of Pagan Rome, but notwithstanding are able to find something to admire in their spirit, particularly because they apply ornament to its proper purposes; and then you talk of their churches, and all that is very well, and one hopes one has heard the end of your name-calling, when all at once you relapse into your Protestantism, and deal in, what I take leave to call, slang.' Then, after a remark which is not to the purpose of these extracts, he adds:—'I do not believe that any Roman Catholic of education would tell you that he identified penitence and penance. In fact, I know that they often preach against this very error as well as you could do.'

6. In 1834 I also used of certain doctrines of the Church of Rome the epithets 'unscriptural,' 'profane,' 'impious,' 'bold,' 'unwarranted,' 'blasphemous,' 'gross,' 'monstrous,' 'cruel,' 'administering deceitful comfort,' and 'unauthorised,' in Tract 38. I do not mean to say that I had not a definite meaning in every one of these epithets, or that I did not weigh them before I used them. With reference to this passage the same monitor had said:—'I must enter another protest against your cursing and swearing at the end of the *Via Media* as you do. What good can it do? I call it uncharitable to an excess. How mistaken we may ourselves be on many points that are only gradually opening to us.' I withdrew the whole passage several years ago.

7. I said, in 1837, of the Church of Rome: 'In truth she is a Church beside herself.' [etc., as above.]

8. In 1837, I also said in a review:—'The Second and Third Gregories appealed to the people against the Emperor for a most unjustifiable object, and in, apparently, a most unjustifiable way. They became rebels to establish image worship. However, even in this transaction we trace the original principle of Church power, though miserably defaced and perverted, whose form

Had yet not lost
All her original brightness nor appeared
Less than Archangel ruined, and the excess
Of glory obscured.

Upon the same basis, as is notorious, was built the Ecclesiastical Monarchy. It was not the breath of princes, or the smile of a court, which fostered the stern and lofty spirit of Hildebrand or Innocent. It was the neglect of self, the renunciation of worldly pomp and ease, the appeal to the people.' I must observe, however, upon this passage, that no reference is made in it (the idea is shocking) to the subject of Milton's lines which ill answers to the idea of purity and virtue defaced of which they speak. An application is made of them to a subject which I considered, when I so wrote, to befit them better, viz., the Roman Church as viewed in a certain exercise of her power in the person of the two Popes. Perhaps I have made other statements in a similar tone, and that, again, when the statements themselves were unexceptionable and true. If you ask me how an individual could venture, not simply to hold, but to publish such views of a communion so ancient, so widespreading, so fruitful in Saints, I answer that I said to myself, I am not speaking my own words, I am but following at most consensus of the divines of my Church. They have ever used the strongest language against Rome, even the most able and learned of them. I wish to throw myself into their system. While I say what they say, I am safe. Such views, too, are necessary for our positions. Yet I have reason to fear still, that such language is to be ascribed, in no small measure, to an impetuous temper, a hope of approving myself to persons I respect, and a wish to repel the charge of Romanism. An admission of this kind involves no retractation of what I have written in defence of Anglican doctrine. And as I make it for personal reasons, I make it without consulting others. I am as fully convinced as ever, indeed I doubt not Roman Catholics themselves would confess that the Anglican doctrine is the strongest, nay, the only possible antagonist of their system. If Rome is to be withstood it can be done in no other way." This is, however, anticipating events. A great deal happened to direct the outcome of the Oxford Movement before Mr. Newman published his recantation. In 1835, Dr. Pusey openly joined the Movement and founded the "Library of the Fathers." Without his timely aid at this particular juncture, Dr. Newman tells us that the Tractarians would have little chance of withstanding what he calls the Liberal oppression which was operating against them. The "Library of the Fathers" was meant to shew that the Anglican Movement was the embodiment of the principles of the Primitive Church, and Mr. Newman was the most conspicuous contributor to the series. His literary activity was, indeed, something startling to his friends. Besides editing a portion of the "Library" he regularly contributed to the *British Critic*, wrote and generally supervised the publication of the Tracts. He poured volume upon volume from the press, dealing with every phase of the controversies which had been provoked by the Movement. Thus appeared his "Plain and Parochial Sermons," his "Essays upon Miracles," his famous "Prophetical Office," and the still more famous "Via Media." He could meet and vanquish all his Protestant opponents, but with the appearance of that great soldier of Catholicism Dr. Wiseman, in the field, his sword fell from his hand, and as far as he was concerned, the Anglican battle was at an end. Dr. Wiseman's sermons, "On the Anglican Claims," destroyed the whole argument of the "Via Media." There was no middle path, he at last acknowledged to himself. He must either satisfy his soul by doing without Apostolic Faith altogether, or embracing it where only it was to be found. With this conviction he gave up the contest with Catholicism. But he still held himself ready for the Protestant fires of the Anglican Movement. He had found many new followers, and vanquished many old opponents. Faber had come to Oxford and taken Newman for his leader. Manning had listened to his teaching and taken him for his friend and counsellor. In 1834, he had led Young Oxford against the doctrinal innovations of Dr. Hampden, who, being placed in the Divinity Chair by the politicians of the State, preached latitudinarianism broadcast. In 1836, he had moved the religious fervour so strongly against the profanation of its scholastic chair that the State Professor was solemnly condemned by the University authorities. He was to find that the weapon he had had placed in motion against latitudinarianism could also be used to cut down the Tractarian Movement. And while he sat down in retirement to take counsel with his own soul, he was fated to see the same instrument in operation against his friend Dr. Pusey. It was being gradually proved to him that there was no room for him in the Church of England. Already others had gone before him "over to Rome." And one of them, Mr. Spencer, afterwards Father Ignatius, came back in 1840 to call Newman with him, or at least to induce him to pray for unity among Christians, that is, for the union of the Tractarians with the true Church. Mr. Newman was not yet willing to acknowledge the conquest

which Catholic Faith had virtually made of his soul. His mood is indicated by a letter of his to Mr. Spencer, which he has himself published. "Of parties now in the country," he said, "you cannot but allow that next to yourselves we are nearest to revealed truth. We maintain great and holy principles; we profess Catholic doctrines. . . . So near are we, as a body, to yourselves in modes of thinking, as even to have been taunted with the nicknames which belong to you; and on the other hand, if there are professed infidels, scoffers, sceptics, unprincipled men, rebels, they are found among our opponents. And yet you take part with them against us You consent to act hand in hand [with these and others] for our overthrow. Alas! all this it is that impresses us irresistibly with the notion that you are a political, not a religious party; that in order to gain an end on which you set your hearts,—an open stage for yourselves in England,—you ally yourselves with those who hold nothing against those who hold something. This is what distresses my mind so greatly, to speak of myself, that, with limitations which need not now be mentioned, I cannot meet familiarly any leading persons of the Roman Communion, and least of all when they come on a religious errand. Break off, I would say, with Mr. O'Connell in Ireland, and the Liberal party in England, or come not to us with overtures for mutual prayer and religious sympathy."

In February, 1841, the crisis of his connection with the Church of England came. That month saw the publication of "Tract 90." Newman wrote it, and its authorship was known. But the "Tract" was not less more objectionable from a Protestant point of view than most of those which had gone before it. It simply pleaded for what was termed a Catholic interpretation of the Thirty-nine Articles. About the origin of the Church of England Mr. Newman remained certain on one point—that it was Catholic. That its Articles, though the offspring of an uncatholic age, were yet Catholic themselves, he laboured to prove. The University and the bishops refused to acknowledge the Catholicity of the Protestant Articles of Faith. They were the authorities of the Church, the teachers of the people, and therefore entitled to pronounce. They made the Church what they chose, for they were the rulers. They had determined it could not be Catholic, and without Catholicity, Newman held there could not be pure Christianity. Within a week after the appearance of "Tract 90" the Hebdomadal Board had condemned it, and the Bishop of Oxford had asked Mr. Newman to discontinue the series. The bishops throughout the country, the Protestant Press, and the preachers in the Evangelical pulpits took up the cry, and for a time Mr. Newman was the best abused man in the British Empire. There were a few of his friends who rushed to his rescue. Keble from his quiet parsonage wrote to say that he was responsible for Tract 90, inasmuch as he had read, approved of it, and advised its publication. Dr. Pusey had written to the University authorities in the same strain; but Newman himself had determined to bear the brunt of the conflict. As writer, he had been addressed by the four College tutors, who wished to know if the author was a member of the University. He had nothing to conceal, for he had always taken the responsibility of the publication. Had he anything to fear he would have been frank in avowing his share in the opinions expressed. He did not shrink from the challenge, but removed all doubt and suspicion, if any ever existed, from the shoulders of his colleagues by avowing the authorship.

"Mr. Vice-Chancellor," he wrote, "I write this respectfully to inform you that I am the author, and have the sole responsibility of the tract, on which the Hebdomadal Board has just expressed an opinion, and that I have not given my name hitherto under the belief that it was desired that I should not. I hope it will not surprise you if I say, that my opinion remains unchanged of the truth and honesty of the principle maintained in the tract, and of the necessity of putting it forth. At the same time, I am prompted by my feelings, to add my deep consciousness, that everything I attempt might be done in a better spirit and in a better way; and while I am sincerely sorry for the trouble and anxiety I have given to the members of the Board, I beg to return my thanks to them for an act which, even though founded on misapprehension, may be made as profitable to myself as it is religious and charitably intended."

The narrative of the transactions connected with the discontinuance of the Tractarian Propaganda he has written himself in published letters to his friends. To his beloved companion, Mr. Bowden, he wrote the day before he addressed his letter to the Vice-Chancellor:—1. "The Heads, I believe, have just done a violent

act; they have said that my interpretation of the Articles is an *evasion*. Do not think that this will pain me. You see no doctrine is censured and my shoulders shall manage to bear the charge. If you knew all, or were here, you would see that I have asserted a great principle and I *ought* to suffer for it: that the Articles are to be interpreted not according to the meaning of the writers, but (as far as the wording will admit) according to the sense of the Catholic Church." On March 25, he says, "I do trust I shall make no false step, and hope my friends will pray for me to this effect. If, as you say, a destiny hangs over us, a single false step may ruin all. I am very well and comfortable but we are not yet out of the wood," and on April 1, "The Bishop sent me word on Sunday to write a letter to him 'instanter.' So I wrote it on Monday; on Tuesday it passed through the press; on Wednesday it was out; and to-day (Thursday) it is in London. I trust that things are smoothing now, and that we have made great step is certain. It is not right to boast till I'm clear out of the wood, *i.e.*, till I know how the letter is received in London. You know, I suppose, that I am to stop the Tracts; but you will see in the Letter, though I speak quite what I feel, yet I have managed to take out on *my* side my snubbing's worth. And this makes me anxious how it will be received in London. I have not had a misgiving for five minutes from the first, but I do not like to boast lest some harm come." On April 4, he writes again: "Your letter of this morning was an exceedingly great gratification to me; and it is confirmed, I am thankful to say, by the opinion of others. The Bishop sent me a message that my letter had his unqualified approbation; and since that he has sent me a note to the same effect, only going more into detail. It is most pleasant too, to my feelings to hear such a testimony to the substantial truth and importance of No. 90, as I have had from so many of my friends; from those who, from their construction of mind, I was least sanguine about. I have not had one misgiving myself about it throughout; and I do trust that what has happened will be overruled to subserve the great cause we all have at heart." On May 2, "The Bishops are very desirous of hushing the matter up; and I certainly have done my utmost to co-operate with them, on the understanding that the Tract is not to be withdrawn or condemned. Upon this occasion several Catholics wrote to me." On April 8, the contest was already at an end, and he fancied he had triumphed, for he said: "You have no cause to be surprised at the discontinuance of the Tracts. We feel no misgivings about it whatever, as if the cause of what we hold to be Catholic truth would suffer thereby. My letter to my Bishop has, I trust, had the effect of bringing the preponderating *authority* of the Church on our side. No stopping of the Tracts can, humanly speaking, stop the spread of the opinions which they have inculcated. The Tracts are not *suppressed*. No doctrine or principle has been conceded by us, or condemned by authority. The Bishop has but said that a certain tract is 'objectionable,' no reason being stated. I have no intention whatever of yielding any point which I hold on conviction; and that the authorities of the Church know full well."

It is not the purpose of this memoir to chronicle the details of the controversy which Dr. Newman's last work in defence of Anglicanism provoked. We have only to do with its influence upon himself, and that is indicated by the correspondence just quoted. It might, however, be told how the frantic opposition of the bishops and the evangelical party roused those who had hitherto held aloof from the movement into absolute enthusiasm for its leaders, and set many men a thinking on the condition of the Church and their eternal safety within its fold. Many, for the first time, were induced to doubt their own position, and the attitude of the bishops towards Mr. Newman was the first great impetus which drove men, providentially for themselves, from the uncertain stations of the Church of England to seek safety from the heretical storms on the Rock of Ages. The Church of England had been claiming for itself, even from the evangelical point of view, to have no communion with error. It would not admit the orthodoxy of the Tractarians, yet this very year 1841 it sought communion with the Greek Church, and what it refused to the Pope of Rome it granted to His Holiness of Jerusalem. Instigated by Russian influence, the English bishops consecrated an uneducated converted Jew English Bishop of Jerusalem, where the Church of England had recent jurisdiction over adherents, and sent the new Apostle out with the following exceedingly curious recommendation to the Greek bishops, who heard of the scheme with scarcely concealed amazement:—

“To the Right Rev. and Rev. Brethren in Christ, the Prelates and Bishops of the Ancient Apostolic Churches in Syria and the countries adjacent, greeting in the Lord, William, by Divine Providence, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, &c., Metropolitan, Most earnestly commends to your brotherly love the Right Rev. Michael Solomon Alexander, Doctor in Divinity, whom, we being well assured of his learning and piety, have consecrated to the office of Bishop of the United Church of England and Ireland, according to the ordinances of our Holy and Apostolic Church, and having obtained the consent of our Sovereign Lady the Queen, have sent out to Jerusalem, with authority to exercise spiritual jurisdiction over the clergy and congregations of our Church which are now, or which hereafter may be established in the countries above-mentioned. And in order to prevent any misunderstanding in regard to this our purpose, we think it right to make it known to you that we have charged the said Bishop, our brother, not to intermeddle in any way with the jurisdiction of the prelates or other ecclesiastical dignitaries bearing rule in the Churches of the East, but to shew due reverence and honour, and to be ready on all occasions, and by all the means in his power, to promote a mutual interchange of respect, courtesy, and kindness. We have good reason to believe that our brother is willing, and will feel himself in conscience bound to follow these our instructions; and we beseech you, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, to receive him as a brother, and to assist him as opportunity may offer with your good offices. We trust that your holinesses will receive this communication as a testimony of our respect and affection, and of our hearty desire to renew that amicable intercourse with the ancient Churches in the East which has been suspended for ages, and which, if restored, may have the effect, with the blessing of God, of putting an end to divisions which have wrought the most grievous calamities in the Church of Christ. In this I hope, and with sentiments of the highest respect for your holinesses, we have affixed our archiepiscopal seal to this letter, written with our own hands, at our palace at Lambeth, on the twenty-third day of November, in the year of our Lord one-thousand eight-hundred and forty-one.”

To protest against this serious step—absurd, and from a doctrinal point, suicidal proceeding—was the last act of interference by Mr. Newman with the destinies of the Church of England. On October 12th he thus wrote to Mr. Bowden:—“We have not a single Anglican in Jerusalem, so we are sending a Bishop to *make* a communion, not to govern our own people. Next, the excuse is that there are converted Anglican Jews there who require a Bishop; I am told there are not half-a-dozen. But for *them* the Bishop is sent out, and for them he is a Bishop of the *circumcision*” (I think he was a converted Jew, who boasted of his Jewish descent), “against the Epistle to the Galatians pretty nearly. Thirdly, for the sake of Prussia, he is to take under him all the foreign Protestants who will come, and the political advantages will be so great, from the influence of England, that there is no doubt they *will* come. They are to sign the Confession of Augsburg, and there is nothing to show that they hold the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration. As to myself, I shall do nothing whatever, publicly, unless indeed it were to give my signature to a protest. But I think it would be out of place in *me* to agitate, having been in a way silenced; but the Archbishop is really doing most grave work, of which we cannot see the end.”

Accordingly he washed his hands of what he considered communion with heresy, by unburdening himself to the authorities of his Church. Addressing himself to his Bishop, he thus defines his position towards the Established Church in union with the Greeks, Lutherans and Calvinists:—“It seems as if I were never to write to your Lordship without giving you pain, and I know that my present subject does not specially concern your Lordship; yet, after a great deal of anxious thought, I lay before you the enclosed Protest. Your Lordship will observe that I am not asking for any notice of it, unless you think that I ought to receive one. I do this very serious act in obedience to my sense of duty. If the English Church is to enter on a new course, and assume a new aspect, it will be more pleasant to me hereafter to think that I did not suffer so grievous an event to happen, without bearing witness against it. May I be allowed to say that I augur nothing but evil, if we in any respect prejudice our title to be a branch of the Apostolic Church? That article of the Creed, I need hardly observe to your Lordship, is of such constraining power, that, if *we* will not claim it, and use it for ourselves, *others* will use it in their own behalf against us. Men who learn whether by means of documents or measures, whether from the statements or the acts of persons in authority, that our communion is not a branch of the One Church, I foresee with much grief will be tempted to look out for that

Church elsewhere. It is to me a subject of great dismay, that, as far as the Church has lately spoken out, on the subject of the opinions which I and others hold, those opinions are, not merely not *sanctioned* (for that I do not ask), but not even suffered."

Then follows his PROTEST, which runs:—"Whereas the Church of England has a claim on the allegiance of Catholic believers, only on the ground of her own claim to be considered a branch of the Catholic Church; And whereas the recognition of heresy, indirect as well as direct, goes far to destroy such claim in the case of any religious body; And whereas to admit maintainers of heresy to communion, without formal renunciation of their errors, goes far towards recognising the same; And whereas Lutheranism and Calvinism are heresies, repugnant to Scripture, springing up three centuries since, and anathematised by east as well as west; And whereas it is reported that the Most Reverend Primate and other Right Reverend Rulers of our Church, have consecrated a Bishop with a view to exercising spiritual jurisdiction over Protestant, that is Lutheran and Calvinist congregations in the East (under the provisions of an act, made in the last Session of Parliament, to amend an act made in the 26th year of the reign of his Majesty, King George III., intituled, 'An act to empower the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Archbishop of York, for the time being, to consecrate to the office of Bishop, persons being subjects or citizens of countries out of his Majesty's dominions'), dispensing at the same time, not in particular cases and accidentally, but as if on principle and universally, with any abjuration of error on the part of such congregations, and with any reconciliation to the Church on the part of the presiding Bishop, thereby giving some sort of formal recognition to the doctrines which such congregations maintain; and whereas the dioceses in England are connected together by so close an intercommunion, that what is done by authority in one immediately affects the rest. On these grounds, I, in my place, being a Priest of the English Church, and Vicar of St. Mary the Virgin's, Oxford, by way of relieving my conscience, do hereby solemnly protest against the measure aforesaid, and disown it, as removing our Church from her present ground and tending to her disorganisation."

He had no qualms of conscience in entering into correspondence with professed Catholics, and to many of them among his friends or occasional correspondents he unburdened his mind. Among those to whom he owed most in his conversion to the Catholic Faith was Dr. Russell, of Maynooth. Dr. Russell saw the development of the Catholic tendency in Mr. Newman's mind. He did not interfere with it; as Mr. Newman expressed it, he let him alone, but he gave him an impulse now and then by sending him books of Catholic theology with such comments on their contents as he thought desirable or useful. Dr. Russell had seen him in 1841, and had heard of the condition of his mind. In 1842 he ventured to send him a book of sermons by St. Alfonso Liguori, and it is of this work that Mr. Newman, writing on November 22nd, 1843, speaks in the following letter:—"I only wish that your Church were more known among us by such writings. You will not interest us in her, till we see her, not in politics, but in her true functions of exhorting, teaching, and guiding. I wish there were a chance of making the leading men among you understand what I believe is no novel thought to yourself. It is not by learned discussions, or acute arguments, or reports of miracles, that the heart of England can be gained. It is by men approving themselves like the Apostles, 'Ministers of Christ.' As to your question, whether the volume you have sent is not calculated to remove my apprehensions that another Gospel is substituted for the true one in your practical instructions, before I can answer it in any way, I ought to know how far the sermons which it comprises are selected from a number, or whether they are the whole, or such as the whole, which have been published of the authors. I assure you, or at least I trust, that, if it is ever clearly brought home to me that I have been wrong in what I have said on this subject, my public avowal of that conviction will only be a question of time with me. If, however, you saw our Church as we see it, you would easily understand that such a change of feeling, did it take place, would have no necessary tendency, which you seem to expect, to draw a person from the Church of England to that of Rome. There is a Divine Life among us, clearly manifested, in spite of all our disorders, which is as great a note of the Church, as any can be. Why should we seek Our Lord's Presence elsewhere when He vouchsafes it to us where we are? What call have we to change our communion?"

To another Catholic correspondent he wrote later:—"At present my full belief is, in accordance with your letter, that if there is a move in our Church, very few persons indeed will be partners in it. I doubt

whether one or two at the most among residents at Oxford. And I don't know whether I can wish it. The state of the Roman Catholics is at present so unsatisfactory. This I am sure of, that nothing but a simple direct call of duty is a warrant for any one leaving our Church; no preference of another Church, no delight in its services, no hope of greater religious advancement in it, no indignation, no disgust at the persons and things, among which we may find ourselves in the Church of England. The simple question is, Can I (it is personal, not whether another, but can I) be saved in the English Church? Am I in safety were I to die to-night? Is it a mortal sin in me not joining another communion?"

The determination to leave the Church of England was rapidly fixing itself in his mind. He had resolved to leave St. Mary's and retire to his house at Littlemore, with his few choice friends, there to wait in watching and in prayer for the direction of the Divine Will. Many signs were given him here; for instance, one of his companions, Mr. Lockhart, left him to become a Catholic in 1843, and another, Mr. Dalgairns, was, as it were, his forerunner in 1845.

After this the story of his progress to Catholicism is best told from his letters to Archdeacon (now Cardinal) Manning and other friends. As early as May 4, 1843, he was able to write:—"At present I fear, as far as I can analyse my own convictions, I consider the Roman Catholic Communion to be the Church of the Apostles, and that what grace is among us (which, through God's mercy, is not little) is extraordinary, and from the overflowing of His dispensation. I am very far more sure that England is in schism, than that the Roman additions to the Primitive Creed may not be developments arising out of a keen and vivid realising of the Divine Depositum of Faith."

Although he had ceased to take any great share in the services and altogether refrained from preaching, he was still Vicar of St. Mary's, and with his new convictions, doubts as to the honesty of retaining even the nominal charge of his parish began to trouble his mind. Of these doubts he writes on May 18, 1843:—"My office or charge at St. Mary's is not a mere *state*, but a continual *energy*. People assume and assert certain things of me in consequence. With what sort of sincerity can I obey the Bishop? How am I to act in the frequent cases in which, one way or another, the Church of Rome comes into consideration? I have, to the utmost of my power, tried to keep persons from Rome, and with some success; but even a year and a-half since my arguments, though more efficacious with the persons I aimed at than any others could be, were of a nature to infuse great suspicion of me into the minds of lookers-on. By retaining St. Mary's I am an offence and a stumbling-block. Persons are keen-sighted enough to make out what I think on certain points, and then they infer that such opinions are compatible with holding situations of trust in our Church. A number of younger men take the validity of their interpretation of the Articles, &c., from me on *faith*. Is not my present position a cruelty, as well as a treachery towards the Church?" Later on, his doubts being settled and his duty made clear to him, he, by a formal letter to his Bishop, resigned the Vicarage on the 18th of September, and thus severed his ministerial connection with the Church of England. His reasons for this step are given in a letter dated October 14, 1843.—"I would tell you in a few words why I have resigned St. Mary's, as you seem to wish, were it possible to do so. But it is most difficult to bring out in brief, or even in extenso, any just view of my feelings and reasons. The nearest approach I can give to a general account of them is to say that it has been caused by the general repudiation of the view (contained in No. 90) on the part of the Church. I could not stand against such an unanimous expression of opinion from the Bishops, supported, as it had been, by the concurrence, or at least silence, of all classes in the Church, lay and clerical. If there ever was a case in which an individual teacher has been put aside and virtually put away by a community, mine is one. No decency has been observed in the attacks upon me from authority; no protests have been offered against them. It is felt—I am far from denying, justly felt—that I am a foreign material, and cannot assimilate with the Church of England. Even my own Bishop has said that my mode of interpreting the Articles makes them mean *anything or nothing*. When I heard this delivered I did not believe my ears. I denied to others that it was said. Out came the charge, and the words could not be mistaken. This astonished me the more because I published that letter to him (how unwillingly you know) on the understanding that I was to deliver his judgment on No. 90 *instead* of him. A year elapses, and a second and heavier judgment came forth. I did not bargain for this,

nor did he, but the tide was too strong for him. . . . "I fear that I must confess that, in proportion as I think the English Church is showing herself intrinsically and radically alien from Catholic principles, so do I feel the difficulties of defending her claims to be a branch of the Catholic Church. It seems a dream to call a communion Catholic when one can neither appeal to any clear statement of Catholic doctrines in the formularies, nor interpret ambiguous formularies by the received and living Catholic sense, whether past or present. Men of Catholic views are too truly but a party in our Church. I cannot deny that many other independent circumstances, which it is not worth while entering into, have led me to the same conclusion. I do not say all this to everybody, as you may suppose; but I do not like to make a secret of it to you." And again on October 25, 1843, he writes:—"I must tell you then frankly, but I combat arguments which to me, alas, are shadows, that it is not from disappointment, irritation, or impatience, that I have, whether rightly or wrongly, resigned St. Mary's. But because I think the Church of Rome, the Catholic Church; and ours no part of the Catholic Church, because not in communion with Rome, and because I feel that I could not honestly be a teacher in it any longer. This thought came to me last summer four years . . . "I mentioned it to two friends in the autumn. It arose in the first instance from the Monophysite and Donatist controversies, the former of which I was engaged with in the course of the theological study to which I had given myself. This was at a time when no Bishop, I believe, had declared against us, and when all was progress and hope. I do not think I have ever felt disappointment or impatience, certainly not then; for I never looked forward to the future, nor do I realise it now. My first effort was to write that article on the Catholicity of the English Church; for two years it quieted me. Since the summer of 1839 I have written little or nothing in modern controversy . . . "You know how unwillingly I wrote my letter to the Bishop in which I committed myself again, as the safest course under circumstances. The article I speak of quieted me till the end of 1841, over the affair No. 90, when that wretched Jerusalem Bishopric (no personal matter) revived all my alarms. They have increased up to this moment. At that time I told my secret to another person in addition. You see then that the various ecclesiastical and quasi-ecclesiastical acts which have taken place in the course of the last two years and a half, are not the *cause* of my state of opinion, but are keen stimulants, and weighty confirmation of a conviction forced upon me, while engaged in the *course of duty*—viz., that theological reading to which I had given myself. And this last-mentioned circumstance is a fact which has never, I think, come before me till now that I write to you. . . . "It is three years since, on account of my state of opinion, I urged the Provost in vain to let St. Mary's be separated from Littlemore; thinking I might with a safe conscience serve the latter, though I could not comfortably continue in so public a place as a University. This was before No. 90. . . . "Finally, I have acted under advice, and that, not of my own choosing, but what came to me in the way of duty; nor the advice of those only who agree with me, but of near friends who differ from me. . . . "I have nothing to reproach myself with, as far as I see, in the matter of impatience—*i.e.*, practically, or in conduct. And I trust that He, who has kept me in the slow course of change hitherto, will keep me still from hasty acts or resolves with a doubtful conscience. . . . "This I am sure of, that such interposition as yours, kind as it is, only does what *you* consider harm. It makes me realise my own views to myself; it makes me see their consistency; it assures me of my own deliberateness; it suggests to me the traces of a Providential Hand; it takes away the pain of disclosures; it relieves me of a heavy secret . . . "You may make what use of my letters you think right."

The crisis of his struggle was approaching, though approaching slowly and by painful stages. The mental agony of this period of his retirement was interrupted by the knowledge that others were going over to Rome while he hesitated, and that the Oxford authorities were by such proceedings as the condemnation of Dr. Pusey for heresy, destroying the remnant of the Anglican claim to Catholicity. The "Exodus" had begun in 1842, and continued in '43. One of his own companions, Mr. Lockhart, had received light and "gone over." Others, in 1844, were preparing to go, and yet Mr. Newman hesitated.

On November 16, 1844, he writes:—"I am going through what must be gone through, and my trust only is that every day of pain is so much taken from the necessary draught which must be exhausted. There is no fear (humanly speaking) of my moving for a long time yet. This has got out without my intending it; but it is all well. As far as I know myself, my one great distress is the perplexity, unsettlement, alarm, scepticism, which I

am causing to so many ; and the loss of kind feeling and good opinion on their part of so many, known and unknown, who have wished well to me. And of these two sources of pain it is the former that is the constant, urgent, unmitigated one. I had for days a literal ache all about my heart ; and from time to time all the complaints of the Psalmist seemed to belong to me. . . . “ And as far as I know myself, my one paramount reason for contemplating a change, is my deep, unvarying conviction that our Church is in schism, and that my salvation depends on my joining the Church of Rome. I may use *argumentum ad hominem* to this person or that ; but I am not conscious of resentment, or disgust, at anything that has happened to me. I have no visions whatever of hope, no scheme of action, in any other sphere more suited to me. I have no existing sympathies with Roman Catholics ; I hardly ever, even abroad, was at one of their services ; I know none of them ; I do not like what I hear of them. . . . “ And then, how much I am giving up in so many ways ? and to me sacrifices irreparable, not only from my age, when people hate changing, but from my especial love of old associations, and the pleasures of memory. Nor am I conscious of any feeling, enthusiastic or heroic, of pleasure in the sacrifice ; I have nothing to support me here. . . . “ What keeps me yet is what has kept me long ; a fear that I am under a delusion, but the conviction remains firm under all circumstances, in all frames of mind. And this most serious feeling is growing on me, viz., that the reasons for which I believe as much as our system teaches, must lead me to believe more, and that not to believe more is to fall back into ‘scepticism.’” In a few months his course appeared more clearly to him. He says on March 30, 1845 :— “ Now I will tell you more than any one knows except two friends. My own convictions are as strong as I suppose they can become, only it is so difficult to know whether it is a call of *reason* or of conscience. I cannot make out, if I am impelled by what seems clear, or by a sense of duty. You can understand how painful this doubt is, so I have waited, hoping for light, and using the words of the Psalmist, ‘ Show some token upon me.’ But I suppose I have no right to wait for ever for this. Then I am waiting because friends are most considerately bearing me in mind, and asking guidance for me ; and, I trust, I should attend to any new feelings which came upon me should that be the effect of their kindness. And then this waiting subserves the purpose of preparing men’s minds. I dread shocking, unsettling people. Anyhow, I can’t avoid giving incalculable pain, so, if I had my will, I should like to wait till the summer of 1846, which would be a full seven years from the time that my convictions first began to fall upon me ; but I don’t think I shall last so long. My present intention is to give up my Fellowship in October, and to publish some work or treatise between that and Christmas. I wish people to know why I am acting, as well as what I am doing ; it takes off that vague and distressing surprise—what can have made him ?” At last the weary struggle was at an end. Mr. Dalgairns, another of his Littlemore companions, had gone from his side and had sought the seal of faith from a Passionist Priest. The departure of Mr. Dalgairns seemed to be the signal for his own, and at last he was able to write in a note intended for all his friends :—

Littlemore, October 8th, 1845.—“ I am this night expecting Father Dominic, the Passionist, who, from his youth, has been led to have distinct and direct thoughts, first of the countries of the North, then of England. After thirty years’ (almost) waiting, he was without his own act sent here. But he has had little to do with conversions. I saw him here for a few minutes on St. John Baptist’s Day last year. . . . “ He is a simple, holy man, and, withal, gifted with remarkable powers. He does not know my intention ; but I mean to ask of him admission to the One Fold of Christ. . . . “ I have so many letters to write, that this must do for all who choose to ask about me.”

Father Dominic came, and humbly Mr. Newman professed the Faith he had been seeking so long. Next day he and those who had been received with him made their First Communion, and from that moment all was peace to his mind. There were no more doctrinal difficulties, no more bitter controversies, no more uncharitableness. The news of his conversion rang throughout England, and though men wondered, all united in admitting that a serious wound had been received by the Church of England. She had lost her greatest Evangelist. She was desolate without him. Dr. Pusey expressed the feeling of a few and sought to quiet the unrest which Mr. Newman’s conversion caused, by a letter to a friend, in which he pays a genuine tribute to the honesty and the fearlessness of his late colleague, and by implication justifies his departure from the Church of England :—

“Here was one, marked out as a great instrument of God, fitted through his whole training, of which through a friendship of twenty-two years, I have seen at least some glimpses, to carry out some great design for the restoration of the Church, and now after he had begun that work among ourselves in retirement, his work is taken out of his hands, and not directly acting upon our Church. I do not mean, of course, that he felt this, or that I influenced him. I speak of it only as a fact. He is gone, unconscious (as all great instruments of God are) what he himself is. He has gone as a simple act of duty; with no view for himself, placing himself entirely in God’s hands. The first pang came to me years ago, when I had no other fear, but heard that he was prayed for by name in so many churches and religious houses on the Continent. The fear was suggested to me: ‘If they pray earnestly so for this object, that he may be won to be an instrument of God’s glory among them, while, among us, there is so much indifference and in part dislike; may it not be that their prayers may be heard, that God will give them whom they prayed for—we forfeit whom we desire not to retain? And now, must they not think that their prayers, which they have offered so long—at times I think night and day, and at the Holy Eucharist—have been heard? And may we not have forfeited him, because there was comparatively so little love and prayer? And such are they whom God employs. He seems then to me not so much gone from us as transplanted into another part of the vineyard, where the full energies of his powerful mind can be employed, which here they were not. And who knows what, in the mysterious purposes of God’s good Providence, may be the effect of such a person among them? You, too, have felt that it is what is unholy on both sides which keeps us apart. It is not what is true in the Roman system against which the strong feeling of ordinary religious persons among us is directed, but against what is unholy in her practice. It is not anything in our Church which keeps Rome from acknowledging us, but heresy existing more or less within us. And so now then in this critical state of our Church, the most perilous crisis through which it has ever passed, must not our first lesson be increase of prayer? I may now say that one of those ‘prayers for unity and guidance into the truth,’ circulated some years past, came from him. Had they or such prayers been used more constantly, should we be as we are now? Would all this confusion and distress have come upon us?’

“Yet, since God is with us still, He can bring us even through this loss. We ought not, indeed, to disguise the greatness of it; it is the intensest loss we could have had. They who have won him know his value. It may be a comfort to us that they do. In my deepest sorrow at the distant anticipation of our loss, I was told of the saying of one of our most eminent historians, who owned that they were entirely unequal to meet the evils with which they were beset; that nothing could meet them but some movement which should infuse new life into their Church, and that for this he looked to one man, and that one was N. I cannot say what a ray of comfort this speech darted into my mind. It made me at once realise more, both that what I dreaded might be, and its end. With us he was laid aside. Engaged in great works, especially with that bulwark against heresy and misbelief, yet scarcely doing more for us than he could if he were not with us. . . . “Our Church has not known how to employ him. And since this was so, it seemed as if a sharp sword were lying in its scabbard, or hung up in the sanctuary, because there was no one to wield it.”

Cardinal Acton wrote to welcome him to the True Church. He replied:—“I hope you will have anticipated, before I express it, the great gratification which I received from your Eminence’s letter. That gratification, however, was tempered by the apprehension that kind and anxious well-wishers at a distance attached more importance to my step than really belongs to it. To me indeed, personally, it is of course an inestimable gain; but persons and things look great at a distance, which are not so when seen close, and, did your Eminence know me, you would see that I was one about whom there has been far more talk for good and bad than he deserves, and about whose movements far more expectation has been raised than the event will justify. As I never, I do trust, aimed at anything else than obedience to my own sense of right, and have been magnified into the leader of a party without my wishing it, or acting as such; so now, much as I may wish to the contrary, and earnestly as I may labour (as is my duty) to minister in a humble way to the Catholic Church, yet my powers will, I fear, disappoint the expectations of both my own friends and of those who pray for the peace of Jerusalem. If I might ask your Eminence a favour, it is that you would kindly moderate those anticipations. Would it were in my power to do what I do not aspire to do! At present, certainly, I

cannot look forward to the future ; and, though it would be a good work if I could persuade others to do as I have done, yet it seems as if I had quite enough to do in thinking of myself."

Peace for a time at Littlemore enabled him to grow in holiness as well as in faith. He was happy, though he mourned over lost years. He at once, on his conversion, asked to be employed for the good of souls. And by arrangement with Dr. Wiseman he, with his friends who followed him into the Church, removed to Oscott, where they lived for a time in simple community. The refugees from Littlemore undertook the study of Catholic writers, and Mr. Newman became, under Dr. Wiseman, one of their teachers. Yet he preserved his humility, and it is now one of the beloved traditions of Oscott that this great genius was to be seen humbly waiting his turn among the boys of the College, to make his weekly confession to Dr. Wiseman. By-and-bye he was called to Rome to receive from the Holy Father his welcome to the bosom of the Church. He had already received from the saintly Gregory XVI. the present of a silver crucifix, containing a relic of the true Cross.

The foundation of the Congregation of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri in England, is a touching romance of the latter days of the Oxford Movement. Mr. Newman—struggling with thought in his retirement at Littlemore—sought solace from his friends outside in the world, and gave comfort to those among them whose souls like his were being tortured with the pains of spiritual hunger. To Frederick Faber his voice was the voice of a loved teacher always reverently obeyed. All true teachers of men are, however, sometimes consciously—more often unconsciously—influenced by the minds in whose development they aid. In the fruition of the seeds of knowledge, or of aspiration, sown by them in the minds of their followers, they behold the ripeness of their own thoughts, and frequently gather the intellectual harvest of their own minds. At Littlemore Newman waited in anguish for the coming of the Angel of Truth, while Faber, with his irrepressible ardour, sought the angelic presence at the Apostolic shrines. He went to Rome in 1843, and the spirit in which he gave himself up to all the devotional influences of the Holy City, contrasts curiously and suggestively with the feeling of fearful repulsion with which his great teacher had, on his first visit to the Eternal City, perseveringly endeavoured to protect himself from the holy contagion of its traditions and masterful influence of its authoritative Catholicism. Faber rushed with fervour to the Roman sanctuaries which Newman had avoided. The aspiration of holiness within him fed lovingly on the saintly traditions of the Roman churches, and it was while he thus gave himself up to the spiritual luxury of Catholic devotion, that he found the model of his future life in the study of the works of St. Philip Neri.

Rome had become a place of pilgrimage to the more restless spirits—or the more gallant minds, if you will—of the Oxford Movement. The doors of the English College were always open to the searchers after Catholic truth, and teachers who could speak to the pilgrims in their mother tongue, of the wonders and traditions of Apostolic faith which thronged every bye way of the Holy City, stood at its portals ready to receive them. When Mr. Newman visited Rome in 1833, Dr. Wiseman was the *cicerone* of the Faith. In Faber's time, Dr. Grant, secretary to Cardinal Acton, and afterwards first Bishop of Southwark, was the guide, under Providence, of many to the sanctuary of Catholic truth. Gregory XVI., like the great Pontiff his namesake, who wrested England from paganism, loved the English wanderers from the Church, and in his vigils prayed for their return to the Catholic fold. To Dr. Grant the saintly Pontiff confided the informal mission of instructing the English pilgrims in the mysteries of the Faith, and of winning them, when possible, to Catholic unity. So distinguished a member of the Tractarian party as Frederick William Faber was heartily welcomed by the English Cardinal and his secretary. It was to Dr. Grant that Faber, in 1843, and Newman four years afterwards were indebted for the revelation of holiness found in the career of St. Philip Neri. Both had been ardent students of the lives of the Catholic saints of the early period of the Christian Church, and in them they had been able to trace the continuity of Catholic tradition, which even before the light of Catholic truth had burst upon their minds, became to them an essential principle of religious thought. It was in the Chiesa Nuova at the shrine of St. Philip that they studied the sanctity of his character, and received through him the inspiration of his example, and the vocation to follow him. There were many points of similitude in the character of the saint and of those ardent Tractarians who afterwards became his disciples in England. St. Philip was one of the most marvellous of the servants of

God who had appeared in the Church during the sixteenth century. Piety, an enthusiasm for truth, and charity towards men, were the three great qualities of his character, and the motive powers of his life. He gave up all for the love of religion, and from the days of his youth bestowed all the gifts of his intellect, all the zeal of his soul, and all his earthly goods in the dissemination of Catholic truth and holy charity. Even the worst enemies of the Oxford leaders have admitted an admiration for the unstained purity and intense piety of their lives. The spirit of St. Philip Neri was moving amongst them long ere they recognised its presence, and while they were struggling against the truth which he preached, his example was an influence amongst them. It taught them to seek their power amongst men by honest zeal for the salvation of souls, and there was something in his life which touched their sympathies and induced emulation. The system of teaching which he founded had its points of resemblance to the *modus operandi* of the Oxford Movement. He gathered his followers around him in Florence and in Rome, in much the same unconscious fashion, as Newman surrounded himself with a band of fervid disciples at Oxford. In St. Philip's case it was the beauty of his holiness, the tenderness of his character, the courageous candour of his teaching, and the simple persuasiveness of his utterances, that attracted to him the crowds of talented young Romans, who formed the disciples of the first Oratorian. Philip came at the time when unbelief was assailing the Apostolic authority of the Church, when in the very fold of Christ, the wolf had appeared to demoralise the flock. Laxity of doctrine and looseness of morals, which, somehow or other, to the Catholic mind naturally, to the Protestant mind inexplicably, go hand in hand, were the cancers eating away the faith of men. A process of purification was required. So it appeared, to the Tractarians, to be in the Church of England when the Oxford Movement originated. Latitudinarianism—"Liberalism," as Mr. Newman called it—was threatening the doctrine of the Church of England, and the habits of society quietly ignored what was supposed to be its morals. When determined to devote himself to the promulgation of Truth, and the resurrection of spiritual life in Rome, he set about it by offering an example of self-denial and of enthusiasm. Even as a layman—and here the similitude between his career and that of his first English disciples is curiously close—he devoted himself to a mission which he afterwards sanctified. He formed a Congregation in Rome, and surrounded by his friends, devoted himself to the instruction of all classes of society. Cardinals, bishops, prelates, kings, princes—all desired the honour of sharing in his work, so deep was the enthusiasm which his example had created. Become a priest and the founder of the Congregation of the Oratory, Philip attracted to his conferences or lectures, the young intellect of Rome, and influenced his followers in much the same intangible way as Newman influenced his contemporaries at Oxford. He was the inspired oracle of Catholic truth. Conversing rather than preaching to men of all ranks and ages, his disciples soon numbered amongst them the most learned men of the time. Gallonius, the historian, and Baronius, afterwards Cardinal, were two of his first assistants in the foundation of his Congregation. In the study of the movement founded by St. Philip, the Tractarians saw the constant employment of literature in the promulgation of its principles. To St. Philip and his conduct in the revival of Catholic piety, the Church is indebted for the writings of its greatest annalist, Baronius. When the heretical *littérateurs* of Magdeburg assailed Catholic doctrine by the publication of their famous "Protestant Church History," and the Roman theologians were denouncing their heretical tendency, St. Philip was among the first to discover its probable power over restless minds. "It is a great work," said he, "but *we* must now have a book," and he determined to have it. He went to the humblest and the most learned of his followers—the man whose power of obedience he had fully measured—and told him he must write a history of the Catholic Church. His pious disciple wondered, and protested his inability to obey; that history was a branch of knowledge to which he had never devoted himself, and to which he had a positive aversion. "I will not leave you," said St. Philip, "until you undertake to write a History of the Church." Baronius—for he was the learned disciple—obeyed the command of his superior; and thus was commenced and conducted under the daily supervision of St. Philip, what Faber has called "One of the most stupendous works of pious erudition which the world possesses." It was thus that Newman influenced his erudite companions at Oxford and induced them, one by one, to enlighten the Protestant mind and to illuminate the path to the true Church by the series of marvellous literary works, which threw an intellectual halo around the Oxford Movement. The humble sense of obedient veneration which Baronius evinced towards St. Philip, was a prophetic model of

conduct which vivified the wonderful affection which every one of his colleagues evinced towards the St. Philip of the Tractarian departure. Points of analogy between the character and the influence of the two great leaders of the Catholic revival of the sixteenth, and the Anglican revival of the nineteenth centuries, are almost countless in the career of the enthusiastic Florentine reformer and his greatest modern disciple.

It was by the special request of Pius IX. that in Rome Mr. Newman placed himself and his friends under the tutelage of Father Rossi, of the Oratory, to spend his noviciate. By special dispensation it was shortened, and he was ordained priest by Cardinal Franzoni. A special Brief of Pius IX. constituted the Very Rev. Father Newman, Superior of the first English Congregation of St. Philip. Returning with his companions, he was located for a time in Maryvale. But Mr. Faber, with his Wilfridians was at Birmingham. By-and-bye the two amalgamated, and the first Order of St. Philip in England was formally opened. The story of the Congregation in England is an eventless one; but in dozens the young men of Oxford followed Father Newman—and unknown and at Birmingham are now the most earnest preachers of the Catholic Faith.

The serenity of Dr. Newman's life, which since his conversion had been spent in intellectual peace, was disturbed by a rude and painful shock. A firebrand of Italian birth and unedifying proclivities, and who was called Dr. Achilli, an apostate Dominican friar, appeared in England and lectured in various towns. He laid the most revolting charges against the clergy, and his language towards the Church was shockingly blasphemous. Born in Viterbo, in 1803, Achilli was educated by the Jesuits until his sixteenth year, when he entered the Dominican Order. He was duly ordained priest at Lucca. But his immoral life—after a long career of secret vice—was discovered, and he was summoned to Rome; but he fled to England, where he embraced Protestantism and was received with open arms. The gentle nature of Father Newman was stirred, and he spoke in unmeasured language of the infamies of Achilli, who, aided by others, brought an action for libel which caused the most intense excitement and stirred the passions of millions to their depths. In the Michaelmas Term, 1852, the Court of Queen's Bench granted leave to file a criminal information against the Messrs. Burns and Lambert for a libel published by them against Dr. Achilli in a pamphlet, entitled "Lectures on the present position of Catholics in England, addressed to the Brothers of the Oratory, by John Henry Newman, D.D., Priest of the Congregation of St. Philip Neri. Lecture v. Logical Inconsistency of the Protestant View." Subsequently, Dr. Newman admitted that he was the author of the libel, and his name, by the leave of the Court, was substituted for that of the Messrs. Burns and Lambert. "It is, indeed," were some of the words which formed the libel, "our confusion that our Holy Mother could have had a priest like him. He feels the force of the argument, and shews himself to the multitude that is gazing on him." 'I have,' he says, 'been a Roman priest and a hypocrite. I have been a profligate under a cowl. I am that Father Achilli who, as early as 1826, was deprived of my faculty to lecture for an offence which my superiors did their best to conceal, and who, in 1827, had already earned the reputation of a scandalous friar. I am that Achilli who, in the diocese of Viterbo, in February, 1831, robbed of her honour a young woman of eighteen; who in September, 1833, was found guilty of a second such crime, in the case of a person of twenty-eight; and who perpetrated a third in July, 1834, in the case of another, aged twenty-five. I am he who was afterwards found guilty of sins similar, or worse, in other towns of the neighbourhood. I am that son of St. Dominic who is known to have repeated the offence at Capua, in 1834 and 1835, and in Naples again in 1840 in the case of a child of fifteen. I am he who chose the sacristy of the church for one of these crimes, and Good Friday for another. Look at me, ye mothers of England, a confessor against Popery, for ye 'ne'er may look upon my like again.'"

This extraordinary trial commenced on June 21, 1852, and lasted four days. The presiding Judge was Lord Chief Justice Campbell, and the most eminent counsel were engaged on both sides. The Attorney-General; Solicitor-General; and Mr. Ellis, championed the plaintiff, while the defendant possessed himself of the able advocacy of Sir A. E. Cockburn (the present Lord Chief Justice of England); Mr. Serjeant Wilkins; Mr. Bramwell, Q.C. (afterwards Baron of the Exchequer); Mr. Addison; and Mr. Baddeley. The Attorney-General having opened the case, Sir A. Cockburn addressed the Jury (who in the very commencement of the trial shewed their bigotry and bias, for when it was decided that all witnesses should leave the Court one of their body said it was unfair that Dr. Achilli should be compelled to leave) for his illustrious client. He

alluded to the flame of religious controversy which had been once more kindled in their day (for a very tornado of passion was passing over the land; men's minds were disturbed in consequence of the restoration of the hierarchy by the Brief of Pope Pius IX.—“an old man had written a few words: the shadow of his hand had passed over the land; and the whole land was in commotion”—as it was described a short time before by Dr. Newman, the present defendant), and of the difficulty it would be for his client to obtain “that fair and calm consideration which would be necessary to the ends of justice.” He delivered a scathing attack on the apostate priest. “Dr. Achilli had quitted the Roman Catholic Church, in which he had been a priest and monk, and comes forward in 1844 and 1845, and said he was a convert to Protestantism, ‘and could no longer endure the abominations of the Roman Catholic Church.’” The learned counsel then recapitulated some of the language used by the “convert” against his benefactor, Gregory XVI., and against the doctrines and practices of the Church, and above all, against the clergy: all of which was of the most abominable description. He spoke of the Church as “Sodom and Gomorrah.” Dr. Achilli had spoken of Cardinal Wiseman as insolently as follows:—“There is that renowned Cardinal Wiseman who had the assurance to denounce me from his pulpit and to publish an infamous article in the *Dublin Review*, in which he has raked together, as in a dunghill, every species of filth.” Sir A. E. Cockburn proceeded to give an outline of the life of Achilli. He pictured with the graphic eloquence of a skilful advocate his debaucheries and other crimes. By his own confession he admitted having committed offences almost unmentionable. His manner of life had reached the ears of his superiors, and he was at once summoned to Rome, and sentenced to perpetual deprivation from all ecclesiastical functions. He rushed off in all haste to Ancona, forged a passport, went to Corfu, where he ruined a tailor's wife; and his secession to Protestantism having been thus inaugurated, he pursued a career of crime of a similar nature. The learned counsel then detailed his life in England, as a Protestant evangelist parading shamelessly through the country and “holding up to hatred and disgust the doctrines of the Catholic Church.” After the evidence had been given— young girls coming from Italy to prove him their seducer—detailing a career of almost unparalleled licentiousness, Sir A. Cockburn delivered his speech for the defence. It was a magnificent piece of forensic eloquence, and lasted four hours. He knew that “in those halls there had been cases in former times in which justice had been perverted and judicial murders had been committed, and over these periods history would willingly draw a veil, were it not that by holding up her beacon light she warned posterity against the errors of the past, and guarded them against those passions which deaden the conscience and steel the heart.” “They now knew,” he said, “that innocence rested safe under the judges and the liberties of the land.” A sentence to be singularly unverified. After a charge read against Dr. Newman from the Judge, the Jury returned at once a verdict of guilty. The decision of the Jury was received with a unanimous outburst of condemnation from all thinking classes of the community—Catholic and Protestant alike. The *Times* commenting on the trial a few days after the decision of the Jury, remarked that “We consider that a great blow has been given to the administration of justice in this country, and that Roman Catholics will have, henceforth, only too good reason for asserting that there is no justice for them, in cases tending to arouse the Protestant feelings of judges and juries.” A subscription list was at once started to indemnify Dr. Newman. France, to its credit be it said, led the way, and through the *Univers* large sums were collected; Great Britain contributed nearly £7000; Ireland and France about one-half that amount each; while from every civilised country on the face of the earth the undaunted courage of the illustrious denouncer of irreligion and immorality received recognition. The total realised reached nearly £13,000, which, after paying all law costs, left a balance of over £3600, which Dr. Newman devoted to charitable uses. But Dr. Newman's legal advisers did not permit matters to be carried without making an effort for the more impartial re-hearing of the case, and accordingly made application in the Court of Queen's Bench in January, 1853, for a new trial. After a two days' arguing the case, before Lord Campbell, and Justices Coleridge (son of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, the poet, and father of Lord Coleridge, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and Father Coleridge, S.J.), Wightman, and Erle, the motion was refused. On January 31, sentence was pronounced in a Court composed of the same judges. Immense was the excitement. Crowds of Dr. Newman's friends and foes of all classes thronged the approaches, in the hope of being present.

After argument in favour of mitigation of punishment had been delivered and replied to, Dr. Newman rose and came forward to the floor of the Court and asked to be allowed to make some observations—a request which was declined by Lord Campbell.

Mr. Justice Coleridge (as senior puisne Judge) then, amid the most painful silence, pronounced sentence. After, in most moderate and considerate language, which contrasted with that of Lord Campbell on the trial, reviewing the facts of the case, he said that “he believed he spoke the opinion of every member of the Court, when he said that Dr. Newman honestly believed the truth of the allegations which he made in the plea which he had put on record. The Court believed Dr. Newman to be a man incapable of stating what was not the truth.” “I hope,” said the Judge in conclusion to a lengthened address, “that even in this crowded Court, there is not a single individual who looks with anything like a feeling of triumph upon the spectacle which is now before it. . . . As a member of the Church of England, in which I have lived and in which I hope to die, I feel nothing so painful to my mind as seeing you in that position.” He concluded by imposing a fine of £100, and “to be imprisoned among the misdemeanants of the first class till the fine be paid.” Dr. Newman’s solicitor at once drew a cheque for the amount, and so ended this memorable episode. Achilli shortly after fled from England, and sank into obscurity.

One of the greatest works in which Dr. Newman has been engaged during his life, and which must ever bear indelible traces of his genius for organising power, is his connection with the Catholic University of Ireland. From the earliest ages of Christianity, the faithful people of “Catholic Ireland” had the ambition for superior learning. Her great schools were renowned throughout Europe, and to them flocked thousands of the noblest youth of the Continent and Britain for that gentle education they could not obtain in their own countries. The school of Armagh alone educated five thousand, and tradition says that St. Kevin established a University at the Seven Churches, Glendalough. However, at the end of the fourteenth century the subject of a University similar to those existing at Oxford, Paris, and Bologna was first mooted. The subject came home to the Irish people especially, as Universities were being established at this time at Avignon, Perugia, Cahors, Grenoble, Pisa, Prague, and elsewhere, chiefly through the efforts of the Dominicans and other Orders. The fourteenth was the century of Universities. In 1312, John de Lecke, Archbishop of Dublin, obtained a brief of Clement V. to erect in Dublin a *Studium Generale* “in every science and faculty, to continue for perpetual times.” De Lecke died ere he could carry out the details, and his successor, Alexander di Bricknor, after seven years had elapsed, during which circumstances were unfavourable, procured a fresh brief from the reigning Pontiff, John XXII., acting under which, as well as that of Clement V., he published an instrument addressed to the “Master and Scholars of Our University,” in which he detailed the constitution of the new institution. He does not mention a Rector, but raises the Dean of St. Patrick’s Cathedral to the dignity of first Chancellor of the University of Dublin. Owing to the troublous times—the political Dark Ages of Ireland—the University made but little progress. In 1358, Edward III. issued Letters Patent for its encouragement, and in 1364, Lionel, Duke of Clarence, founded a lectureship. The University must, however, have languished into almost, if not absolute, extinction by 1465, for we find the Irish Parliament, under the presidency of Thomas Geraldine, Earl of Desmond, Vicegerant of George, Duke of Clarence, Lieutenant of the English King, founding a University at Drogheda, endowing it with all the privileges of Oxford. This institution also dwindled for want of funds, owing to the continued disturbances and poverty of the people. Ten years, after we find “Parliament and the Friars” petitioning Pope Sixtus IV. on the subject of their educational poverty, explaining its causes, and asking for aid. The Pope issued a Bull granting their request, but nothing seems to have been done till 1496, when Walter Fitzsimon, Archbishop of Dublin, ordered an annual contribution to be levied for seven years to provide lectureships. After the dark and troublous interval during which the religious soul of Ireland was rent with anguish, we find, in the reign of Mary, when religion for a time was again triumphant, allusion made to the suppression of these lectureships—the last recorded evidence of a Catholic University in Ireland.

When, in 1829, Catholic Emancipation had been granted, the education of the Irish Catholics was in a deplorable state. A few years after, primary education was provided by the establishment of National Schools, but, notwithstanding all the efforts of prelates, priests, and people, the Government steadily ignored granting

facilities for Catholic university education. At last, the Catholics of Ireland courageously resolved to provide a University for themselves. At the Synod of Thurles, in 1850, the work was fairly launched with the blessing of the Holy Father, and received with immense enthusiasm by the Irish people. Subscriptions came pouring in from the Irish Catholics all over the world, and in three years after it was decided to commence the organisation of the new Catholic University. But the question was asked on all sides, who was to be the organiser? The qualifications to be possessed were numerous. The person so selected should be a Catholic of Catholics; he should be learned; be thoroughly acquainted with University life in all its phases; and have the confidence of the prelates and people. With one accord all eyes were turned towards Dr Newman, and he was asked, at the special desire of the Pontiff, by the prelates to accept the office of first Rector of the Catholic University of Ireland. After prayerful consideration he consented, and at once proceeded to Dublin to commence his arduous labours, and destined to spend there the seven years which he has since regarded as among those containing some of the happiest reminiscences of his life. His work was a gigantic one; but he succeeded in bringing a galaxy of intellectual professorial ability around him, which Dr. Brownson, the great American reviewer, and between whom and Dr. Newman there were so many personal characteristics in common, pronounced to be equal to that of any University in the world. Some of them were old Oxford men who had shared his friendship within its halls, and won the race of entrance into the Church before him; others he had brought after him; and there were men of Celtic blood who could hold their own against the world in their respective departments. Having completed all his arrangements almost single-handed, and overcoming difficulties hard to describe, he was formally installed its first Rector on June 4th, 1854, the Feast of Pentecost, in the Cathedral, Marlborough Street, Dublin, by his Grace the Most Rev. Paul Cullen, Archbishop of Dublin, and first Chancellor of the Catholic University of Ireland.

The ceremonial was a most impressive one. After High Mass, the Archbishop-Chancellor was conducted to a seat on a faldstool placed in front of the altar. The Rector was conducted by two deacons, and kneeling before the Archbishop with hands closed before his breast, pronounced in clear and earnest tones the Profession of Faith, by which he declared his belief in each tenet of Catholic doctrine, and which concluded with the solemn abjuration:—"Ego idem Joannes Henricus Newman, spondeo, voveo ac juro, sic me Deus adjuvet, et hac Sancta Dei evangelia." And, in accordance with the example of the University of Louvain, on the model of which the Catholic University of Ireland was established, the Synodal Fathers ordered the following engagement to be recited:—"Ego N. Nominatus Rector Universitatis Catholicæ fidelis et obediens ero catui Episcoporum Hiberniæ et pro viribus juxta illorum mentem curabo honorem et prosperitatem dictæ Universitatis."

The Archbishop preached, and, at the conclusion of his sermon, turning to the newly appointed Rector, addressed him in the impressive strains brilliantly epitomising the whole scope of Catholic teaching:—"And you, Very Reverend Father," he said, "to whom the execution of so great a work is committed by the Church of Ireland, allow me to exhort you to meet the difficulties and trials which you shall have to encounter with courage and determination. You will have with you the blessing of the Successor of St. Peter, the sanction and co-operation of the Church of Ireland, and the fervent prayers of the faithful. All difficulties will gradually vanish, and a fair and open field will be presented to you for your labours. Teach the young committed to your care, to cultivate every branch of learning; to scan the depths of every science, and to explore the mysteries of every art; encourage the development of talent and the flight of genius; but check the growth of error, and be a firm bulwark against everything that would be prejudicial to the interests of religion, and the doctrines of the Holy Catholic Church. In all circumstances, and all times, let it be your care to infuse a strong Catholic spirit, a true spirit of religion into the tender minds of the youth; to make them understand the value of that element, of that *aroma scientiarum*, without which the sciences only corrupt the heart and spread baneful influences around them. In this way your labours will tend to restore the ancient glories of the Island of Saints; you will enrich the State with obedient, faithful, and useful subjects, and give to the Church devoted and enlightened children. May the Holy Spirit, Who on this day descended on the Apostles, descend on all here present, purify our hearts, and give us that true wisdom, whose beginning is the favour of the Lord, and which is necessary to guide us in working our eternal salvation."

Several eminent dignitaries and others hastened to inscribe their names on the University books and wish the Rector God speed. "H. E. Manning" is one of the first; Very Rev. Dr. De Rain, Rector Magnificus of the University of Louvain; Very Rev. Dr. Döllinger, Munich; Prince Hohenlohe, the Vatican; M. Montalembert, and hundreds of others, all uniting in testifying their respect and admiration for Dr. Newman, and earnestly wishing the new University a successful career—a wish which has been amply fulfilled. Soon after the opening of the University, the Rector delivered his inaugural address to the students on "Civilisation," indicating its development with a breadth which carping critics fancy foreign to the Catholic mind. After tracing the history of that civilisation existing in that portion of the world of which the Mediterranean may be called the centre, and of that "Society which is its creation and its home, and is so distinctive and luminous in its character, so imperial in its extent, so imposing in its duration, and so utterly without rival upon the face of the earth, that the association may fitly assume to itself the title of Human Society, and its civilisation the abstract term Civilisation,"—the Rector alluded to Homer and his influence:—"In the country which has been the fountain head of intellectual gifts, in the age which preceded or introduced the first formation of Human Society, in an era scarcely historical, we dimly discern an almost mythical personage who, putting out of consideration Scripture names, may be called the first Apostle of Civilisation. . . . "As time went on other poets were associated with Homer in the work of education, such as Hesiod and the Tragedians. The majestic lessons concerning duty and religion, justice, and Providence, which occur in Æschylus and Sophocles, belong to a higher school than that of Homer. . . . "Such Poetry may be considered Oratory also, since it has so great a power of persuasion; and the alliance between the two gifts had existed from the time that the verses of Orpheus had, according to the fable, made woods and streams and wild animals to follow him about. Soon, however, Oratory became the subject of a separate art which was called Rhetoric, of which the Sophists were the chief masters. Moreover, as Rhetoric was especially political in its nature, it pre-supposed or introduced the cultivation of History; and thus the pages of Thucydides became one of the special studies by which Demosthenes rose to be the first orator of Greece."

The pulpit of the Catholic University having been thrown open to several eminent preachers, some of them applied to Dr. Newman for advice as to what University preaching ought to be. He wrote an admirable letter on the subject to the Right Rev. Dr. Moriarty, from which the following extracts are taken:—"He who has before his mental eye the Four Last Things will have the true earnestness, the horror or the rapture of one who witnessed a conflagration, or discerned some rich and sublime prospect of natural scenery. His countenance, his manner, his voice, speak for him, in proportion as his view has been vivid and minute. The great English poet has described this sort of eloquence, when a calamity had befallen:—

' Yea, this man's brow, like to a title page,
Foretells the nature of a tragic volume.
Thou tremblest, and the whiteness in thy cheek
Is apter than thy tongue to tell its errand.'

"It is this earnestness, in the supernatural order, which is the eloquence of saints; and not of saints only, but of all Christian preachers, according to the measure of their faith and love. As in the instance of one who has actually seen what he relates, the herald of tidings of the invisible world also, will be, from the nature of the case, whether vehement or calm, sad or exulting, always simple, grave, emphatic, and peremptory; and all this not because he has proposed to himself to be so, but because certain intellectual convictions involve certain external manifestations." In this eloquent passage Father Newman told the secret of his own power over his countrymen.

"Maryvale, October 30th, 1848.

"My dear Father Wilfrid,—I have consulted the Fathers who are here on the Lives of the Saints, and we have come to the unanimous conclusion of advising you to suspend the series at present. It appears there is a strong feeling against it on the part of a portion of the Catholic community in England, on the ground, as we are given to understand, that the lives of foreign saints, however edifying in their respective countries, are unsuited to England, and unacceptable to Protestants. To this feeling we consider it a duty, for the sake of peace, to defer. For myself, you know well, without my saying it, how absolutely I identify myself with you

in this matter; but as you may have to publish this letter, I make it an opportunity, which has not as yet been given me, of declaring I have no sympathy at all with the feeling to which I have alluded, and in particular, that no one can assail your name without striking at mine.—Ever your affectionate friend and brother in our Lady and St. Philip,

“Rev. F. Faber, St. Wilfrid’s.”

“J. H. NEWMAN,

“Congr. Orat. Presb.

“Berne, September 30th, 1843.

“It is a great comfort to me to see you recommending *delay* even in my state of mind; for I told Dr. Grant at Rome, when I was in an extraordinary tumult of mind in the Church of St. Ignatius, on the feast of St. Aloysius, that I would not make up my mind till the same day in 1845. And it is on this point that I have suffered most since I left Rome, as they have worked on my natural timidity by representing this as perhaps the moment of *finalis gratia*, which passed, I am hardened and lost; and, indeed, this has caused me much misery of mind. It is a great enough evil to have to fight with a *doubt*, while one is fighting with one’s sins also; to doubt the Sacraments one is seeking, to have any holy feelings chilled by the thought that this is (vulgarly speaking) putting the cart before the horse, and of no use till one is in the One Church, that to begin anywhere else is useless altogether. But this may be a punishment for past sins; and I must make the best I can of it. Anyhow, I will *wait*; and it is a great joy to me to know that I have your prayers meanwhile. . . . I hope the end of it all with all of us will be the being led into all truth, and that we may be patient during the dismal *meanwhile* which is before some of us.”

The call to the Cardinalate came, indeed, late in his life. It might have come before, but that Dr. Newman, imitating the spirit of the great St. Philip, refused to enter on the road to ecclesiastical dignity when invited by Pius IX. Only his sense of obedience compelled him to go to Rome, where, amid the assembled strangers of many lands, the Papal messenger went to him on the 12th of May to call him to the Sacred College, in which the great Oratorian, Baronius, had given counsel to the Vicar of Christ. Fitly the title with which he was endowed was that of the patron of his native land, the Cappadocian knight whose mission, like Cardinal Newman’s, was to war against error. The warfare against error, the search for light, was the mission of his life, whose key-note was beautifully sounded in his reply to the message of the Pontiff, when, as he stood once more amidst his own people within sight of St. Peter’s, the Pontifical delegate bore to him the call to his reward.

“If,” said the venerable old man, turning to his countrymen, “I ask your permission to continue my address to you in my own dear mother tongue, it is because in the latter I can better express my feelings on this most gracious announcement which you have brought to me than if I attempted what is above me. First of all, then, I am led to speak of the wonder and profound gratitude which came upon me, which is upon me still, at the condescension and love towards me of the Holy Father in singling me out for so immense an honour. It was a great surprise. Such an elevation had never come into my thoughts, and seemed to be out of keeping with all my antecedents. I had passed through many trials, but they were over, and now the end of all things had almost come to me and I was at peace. And was it possible that, after all, I had lived through so many years for this? Nor is it easy to see how I could have borne so great a shock had not the Holy Father resolved on a second condescension towards me, which tempered it, and was to all who heard of it a touching evidence of his kindly and generous nature. He felt for me, and he told me the reasons why he raised me to this high position. His act, said he, was a recognition of my zeal and good services for so many years in the Catholic cause. Moreover, he judged it would give pleasure to English Catholics, and even to Protestant England, if I received some mark of his favour. After such gracious words from His Holiness I should have been insensible and heartless if I had had scruples any longer. This is what he had the kindness to say to me, and what could I want more? In a long course of years I have made many mistakes. I have nothing of that high perfection which belongs to the writings of the saints—namely, that error cannot be found in them; but what I trust I may claim throughout all that I have written is this—an honest intention, an absence of private ends, a temper of obedience, a willingness to be corrected, a dread of error, a desire to serve the Holy Church, and, through the Divine.

mercy, a fair measure of success. And I rejoice to say to one great mischief I have from the first opposed myself. For thirty, forty, fifty years, I have resisted to the best of my powers the spirit of Liberalism in religion. Never did the Holy Church need champions against it more solely than now, when, alas! it is an error overspreading as a snare the whole earth; and on this great occasion, when it is natural for one who is in my place to look out upon the world and upon the Holy Church as it is and upon her future, it will not, I hope, be considered out of place if I renew the protest against it which I have so often made. Liberalism in religion is the doctrine that there is no positive proof in religion, but that one creed is as good as another, and this is the teaching which is gaining substance and force daily. It is inconsistent with the recognition of any religion as true. It teaches that all are to be tolerated, as all are matters of opinion. Revealed religion is not a truth, but a sentiment and a taste—not an objective fact, not miraculous; and it is the right of each individual to make it say just what strikes his fancy. Devotion is not necessarily founded on faith. Men may go to Protestant churches and to Catholic, may get good from both and belong to neither. They may fraternise together in spiritual thoughts and feelings, without having any views at all of doctrines in common, or seeing the need of them. Since, then, religion is so personal a peculiarity and so private a possession, we must of necessity ignore it in the intercourse of man with man. If a man puts on a new religion every morning, what is that to you? It is as impertinent to think about a man's religion as about his management of his family. Religion is in no sense the bond of society. Hitherto the civil power has been Christian. Even in countries separated from the Church, as in my own, the dictum was in force when I was young that Christianity was the law of the land. Now everywhere that goodly framework which is the creation of Christianity is throwing off Christianity. The dictum to which I have referred, with a hundred others which followed upon it, is gone, or is going everywhere, and by the end of the century, unless the Almighty interferes, it will be forgotten. Hitherto, it has been considered that religion alone, with its supernatural sanctions, was strong enough to secure the submission of the mass of the population to law and order. Now, philosophers and politicians are bent on satisfying this problem without the aid of Christianity. Instead of the Church's authority and teaching, they would substitute, first of all, a universal and thorough secular education, calculated to bring home to every individual that to be orderly, industrious, and sober is his personal interest. Then for great working principles to take the place of religion for the use of the masses thus carefully educated, they provide the broad, fundamental, ethical truths of justice, benevolence, veracity, and the like, proved experience, and those natural laws which exist and act spontaneously in society and in social matters, whether physical or psychological; for instance, in government, in trade, finance, sanitary experiments, the intercourse of nations. As to religion, it is a private luxury which a man may have if he will, but which, of course, he must pay for, and which he must not obtrude upon others, or indulge in to their annoyance. The same general character of this great apostasy is one and the same everywhere, but in detail and in character it varies in different countries. For myself, I would rather speak of it in my own country, which I know. There I think it threatens to have a formidable success, though it is not easy to see what will be its ultimate issue. At first sight it might be thought that Englishmen are too religious for a movement which on the continent seems to be founded on infidelity. It must be recollected that the religious sects which sprang up in England three centuries ago, and which are so powerful now, have ever been fiercely opposed to the union of Church and State, and would advocate the un-Christianising the monarchy and all that belongs to it, under the notion that such a catastrophe would make Christianity much more pure and much more powerful. Next, the Liberal principle is forced on us through the necessity of the case. Consider what follows from the very fact of these many sects. They constitute the religion, it is supposed, of half the population; and recollect, our mode of government is popular. Every dozen men, taken at random whom you meet in the street, have a share in political power. When you inquire into their forms of belief, perhaps they represent one or other of as many as seven religions. How can they possibly act together in municipal or in national matters if each insists on the recognition of his own religious denomination? All action would be at a deadlock unless the subject of religion were ignored. We cannot help ourselves. And, thirdly, it must be borne in mind that there is much in the Liberalistic theory which is good and true; for example, not to say more, the precepts of justice, truthfulness,

sobriety, self-command, benevolence, which, as I have already noted, are among its avowed principles. It is not till we find that this array of principles is intended to supersede, to block out, religion that we pronounce it to be evil. There never was a device of the enemy so cleverly framed and with such promise of success. And already it has answered to the expectations which have been formed of it. It is sweeping into its own ranks great numbers of able, earnest, virtuous men—elderly men of approved antecedents, young men with a career before them. Such is the state of things in England, and it is well that it should be realised by all of us; but it must not be supposed for a moment that I am afraid of it. I lament it deeply because I foresee that it may be the ruin of many souls; but I have no fear at all that it can do aught of serious harm to the Holy Church, to our Almighty King, the Lion of the tribe of Judah, faithful and true, or to His Vicar on earth. Christianity has been too often in what seemed deadly peril that we should fear for any new trial now. So far is certain. On the other hand, what is uncertain, and in these great contests commonly is uncertain, and what is commonly a great surprise when it is witnessed, is the particular mode in the event by which Providence rescues and saves His elect inheritance. Sometimes our enemy is turned into a friend; sometimes he is despoiled of that virulence of evil which was so threatening; sometimes he falls to pieces of himself; sometimes he does just so much as is beneficial and then is removed. Commonly the Church has nothing more to do than to go on in her proper duties in confidence and peace, to stand still, and to see the salvation of God. *Mansueti hereditabunt terram et delectaburter in multitudine pacis.*"

"They know that he never sinned against light," as he said when he rushed from Rome forty-six years ago. He has found a crown of Light—because he unfalteringly sought it.

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